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ABSTRACT

Intonation patterns of Black English were studied and compared with those occurring in White English and formal Black English. It was found that: (1) the Black English corpus was characterized by a wider pitch range, extending into higher pitch levels than either the White vernacular or the formal Black English of the adult information; (2) a falsetto register was used in Black English more often than either White English or formal Black English; and (3) more rising and level final contours were used in Black English, while White English and formal Black English used more falling final contours. This study provides evidence, never previously reported, of the use of intonation alone in Black English to serve a grammatical function of marking the dependent clause of a conditional sentence, without concomitant use of the lexical item "if". It is concluded that intonation cannot be studied apart from the social situation. The majority of the intonational characteristics found in the Black English corpus can be traced directly to systematic differences between black street culture and white "mainstream" culture, rather than to any systematic differences in phonology per se, and may be accounted for as resulting from different "social rules" for speech with black street culture. (Author/LG)

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Abstract

ASPECTS OF INTONATION IN VERNACULAR WHITE AND BLACK ENGLISH SPEECH

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this investigation was to determine and describe some intonation patterns characteristic of Black English, and to compare those patterns with intonation patterns occurring in White English and Formal Black English.

In designing the study, consideration was given to Labov's "Observor's Paradox": the aim of linguistic research is to describe the way people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet such data can only be obtained by systematic observation. Black English in its purest form occurs in the vernacular style; yet when speakers of Black English are aware that their speech is being observed, they do not speak in the vernacular. In this study, an attempt was made to make speakers less immediately aware of the presence of the observor. "Good data" in the linguistic sense was obtained by establishing a relaxed situation where a frank and informal conversation centered upon the topics of sex, pimping and women's lib, and Black consciousness. Tape recordings were made of a group of Black adolescents in such an informal discussion, and of a group of White adolescents in an informal discussion. In addition, a formal interview with an adult Black male was tape recorded. The recorded speech samples were then transcribed for intonation and the transcriptions checked for reliability by two additional phoneticians. Spectrograms of utterances upon which disagreement among transcribers occurred were also analyzed. The data for terminal intonational contours were grouped according to phrase types, with chi square tests employed between and among groups.

The results of this study were (1) the Black English corpus was characterized by a wider pitch range, extending into higher pitch levels than either the White vernacular or the formal Black English of the adult informant; (2) a falsetto register was used in Black English more often than either White English or formal Black English; (3) more rising and level final contours were used in Black English, while White English and formal Black English used more falling final contours. Significantly, this study provides evidence, never before reported, of the use of intonation alone in Black English to serve a grammatical function of marking the dependent clause of a conditional sentence, without concomitant use of the lexical item "if". This finding has important implications for language testing with Black children, especially in view of deficit theorists who contend that the absence of logical connectives such as "if" in a child's vocabulary indicates his inability to express the logical relationship at all.

One of the most important conclusions of the study is that intonation cannot be studied apart from the social situation. The majority of the intonational characteristics found in the Black English corpus can be traced directly to systematic differences between Black street culture and White "mainstream" culture, with regard to the function of the speech event within the two speech communities, rather than to any systematic differences in phonology per se. Speech events which occur in Black street culture seem to call for specialized use of intonation patterns which themselves are entirely consistent with Standard English intonation rules; intonational patterns characteristic of Black English may be accounted for in large part as resulting from different "social rules" for speech within Black street culture.

ASPECTS OF INTONATION IN
VERNACULAR WHITE AND BLACK ENGLISH SPEECH

by

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I find myself at the end of my graduate work, having completed a sociolinguistic study at a university where there is no faculty of sociolinguistics. Yet I believe I am one of the few graduate students I know who has been able to virtually design and carry out her own work, with a minimum of irrelevant coursework and red tape. This experience has been possible only because of the faculty and students I have worked with.

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CHAPTER ONE -- INTRODUCTION

A primary object of recent sociolinguistic research has been an American dialect spoken primarily by adolescents in the Black speech communities in Northern urban areas. This dialect is presently called Black English. Sociolinguists such as Labov, Wolfram and Shuy have presented convincing evidence that Black English is widespread throughout the urban North, and that it varies little in its segmental characteristics whether it occurs in New York City, Detroit, Washington D.C., Los Angeles, or in many other urban centers. William Labov has defined Black English in this way, as

> ... a sub-system of English used by pre-adolescent and adolescent Negro speakers in Northern ghetto areas which is remarkably uniform over the age range 8-17, especially for those who participate fully in the vernacular culture. ...the basic object of our investigation is the adolescent vernacular characteristic of the Negro speech community. (Labov, 1968a)

It is important to note that the dialect is defined in terms of the community which uses it. Not all American Black people speak Black English; the dialect is spoken primarily by pre-adolescents and adolescents in Northern ghetto areas who participate in the vernacular culture. Similarly, Black English is not spoken only by Blacks; Labov points out that it may also be spoken by Puerto Rican or White adolescents who were raised in areas dominated by Black cultural norms. Black English is thus a product of Black adolescent street culture, and is not biologically or racially determined. (Labov, 1968a)

The segmental characteristics of the Black English dialect have been fairly thoroughly described by a variety of comprehensive research projects. In addition, investigators have indicated that suprasegmental features (such as intonation and stress) may also be characteristic of Black English. There is frequent reference, for example, to the wider pitch range used in the dialect, or the more frequent occurrence of a high falsetto pitch. Labov, among others, has suggested that "voice qualifiers and intonation patterns" are just as characteristic of Black English as grammatical and lexical features.(Labov, 1968a)

The importance of such suprasegmental features for communication is underlined by the following incident, which was reported recently in a national periodical:

> ...noncommunication between Negroes and police has often led to conflict in the past. For example ... because black English has a much wider tonal range than white speech, a white person can easily misinterpret the high-pitched excitable sound of blacks in conversation. Several years ago ... a white Indianapolis policeman arrested several black youths on the street because he thought they were involved in a serious argument; in fact, they were merely having a round of a favorite game called "Playing the Dozens" that consists of seeing which player can contrive the gaudiest obscenities with which to describe the other players' relatives.
>
> (Newsweek, February 21, 1972)

In this incident, it would appear that the wider tonal range used by the Black English speakers led a white policeman to misinterpret the intentions of the speakers. Perhaps the reasons for this misinterpretation will become clearer if we examine the nature of prosody, and especially of intonation, a little more closely.

David Abercrombie describes speech as consisting of three "strands":

> (1) segmental features -- features like vowels and consonants, which combine to make up syllables;
>
> (2) features of voice quality -- features which are present more or less all the time that a given person is talking, such as "thinness", "breathiness", "nasality";
>
> (3) features of voice dynamics -- components arising out of the way the voice is handled, such as loudness, rate, rhythm, and pitch fluctuation.
>
> (Abercrombie, 1967)

Pitch fluctuation, one of the features of voice dynamics, is directly related to intonation. K.L. Pike describes that relationship:

> The changes in pitch which occur within a sentence are not haphazard variation. The patterns of variation, the rules of change, are highly organized. Their intricacy is so great that, although one speaks his language with little effort, their analysis is extremely difficult and may induce one to conclude that no actual organization or rules are present, but that people use pitches by whim and fancy. In each language, however, the use of pitch fluctuation tends to become semi-standardized, or formalized, so that all speakers of the language use basic pitch sequences in similar ways under similar circumstances. These abstracted characteristic sentence melodies may be called INTONATION CONTOURS.
>
> (Pike, 1946)

While the segmental "strand" of speech is used in English to convey information about lexical content, Pike suggests that the suprasegmental "strand" of intonation conveys information about the speaker's attitude. Most segmental sequences -- sentences, or parts of sentences, for example -- may be pronounced with several different intonation contours, according to the speaker's momentary feeling about the subject matter. It is Pike's feeling that "we often react more violently to the intonational meanings than to the lexical ones; if a man's tone of voice belies his words, we immediately assume that the intonation more faithfully reflects his true linguistic intentions." (Pike, 1946) Crystal, in summarizing the literature on intonation, points out that researchers have tended to componentialize intonation into two primary functions: the indication of attitude, and the indication of a grammatical relationship. However, in summarizing his discussion, he concludes that the consensus of opinion is that the primary function of intonation is the indication of attitude.(Crystal, 1969)

If intonation does communicate speaker attitude, and if Black English differs from the standard dialects of American English in the intonation patterns used, then it would appear that there would be a high likelihood of misinterpretation of attitude and intention in communication between speakers of the different dialects.*

Unfortunately, we know very little about intonation in Black English. As we shall see in Chapter Three, the suprasegmental characteristics of this dialect have not been subjected to rigorous investigation by sociolinguists.

In this study, Black English, the adolescent vernacular characteristic of the Black street community in the North, will be examined with regard to the patterns of intonation which appear to characterize it. The importance of such intonational characteristics for communication between speech communities will also be explored.

---

*This suggestion is explored more fully in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER TWO -- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

In the following discussion, two dialects will be of especial importance. The first is Black English -- already defined as the adolescent vernacular of the Black street community in the urban North. The second is Standard English, a hypothetical American speech norm whose intonation patterns are probably most thoroughly described in K. Pike (1946).

The concept of "street community" or "street culture" may also require further explication here. William F. Whyte, in his classic study Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Ghetto, provided one of the earliest descriptions of a street community or a street culture. Most street societies exist in the inner cities of the urban North, within any of the minority ghetto areas. Street societies as described by Whyte tend to have very close, tight social structures in which the status of the individual members is fairly firmly established. One's status tends to be based upon personal power and personality rather than upon institutional position or academic education. Such societies identify themselves as distinct from the majority culture, and tend to evolve a distinct value system, a distinct language, dress and life-style in that separateness. The differing value-systems of the street culture may often cause members to be at odds with the police and the law. Most adolescents living in an inner-city setting in the North seem to participate in the street culture; many of them, as they grow older, seem to move away from the street society and adopt more and more of the majority norms. Labov has reported that Black English occurs in its most homogeneous and systematic form when it is spoken by adolescents and sub-adolescents who participate fully in the Black street culture. The influences of the dialect are evident in other parts of the Black community as well -- but in other contexts, Black English seems to become influenced by Standard English, so that it becomes a less "pure" mixture of two dialects (Labov, 1968a).

Implications for Sociolinguistic Theory

The implications for sociolinguistic theory of dialect differences in intonation may be approached from either a diachronic or a synchronic point of view. Diachronically, one might ask about the origins of the intonation differences observed; synchronically, one would ask only about the way in which those differences function in the speech communities at the present time.

For the purpose of this study, the primary focus will be synchronic. That is, we will not be concerned so much with the historical origins of the intonation patterns in Black English (which might, for example, be traced to West African tone languages spoken by the slaves), as with the nature and functions of those intonation patterns within the speech community. Whatever the historical origins of the intonational differences, they continue to be differences because they serve different functions within different speech communities. The present discussion, then, will deal with the differential functioning of the intonation patterns within the two dialects defined above, when they are examined synchronically.

We have assumed that the primary function of intonation is the indication of the speaker's attitude towards what he is saying, over and above the lexical content of the utterance. If intonation patterns differ significantly among different dialects of American English, such dialectal differences would primarily affect the communication of attitude or mood, within the context of the speech situation.

It is assumed by many phoneticians that intonation cannot be studied outside of the context of situation, and this assumption brings the study of intonation well within the scope of sociolinguistic investigation. Crystal underlines the importance of situational variables, for example:

> ...any description of intonation without reference to situational information is likely to be too general and ambiguous to be really useful. ...one should stress the influential role of stylistic factors in assessing the semantic force of an intonation contour.(Crystal, 1969)

In sociolinguistic terms, then, we would say that intonation must be examined within the broader context of the speech act and the speech event -- within the context of communication in specific social situations, involving specific topics and participants.* Insofar as intonation functions to indicate the attitudes of the participants, and insofar as it is itself influenced by stylistic and situational considerations, it is defined by the speech act and the speech event as these function within the wider speech community.

---

*The technical terms "speech act" and "speech event" are defined in this way: "The smallest sociolinguistic unit that will be of interest to us is a speech act: a joke, an interjection, an opening remark..., a question, in general -- a segment of talk that is also societally recognizable and reoccurring. Speech acts are normally parts of somewhat larger speech events, such as conversations, introductions, lectures, prayers, arguments, etc. ... which, of course, must also be societally recognizable and reoccurring." (Hymes, in press)

For example, we have seen evidence of an incident in which miscommunication may have occurred due to intonational differences (p. 2). The Black English-speaking youths apparently were using a wider range of pitch than the Standard English-speaking policeman would have used in any situation except a serious argument. Assuming that the two dialects differ in the way they use this intonation pattern, and assuming that intonation is tied to the communication of attitude, there are two possible interpretations which could be made within a sociolinguistic framework.

Interpretation One: The rules for intonation might be different in the different dialects, so that intonation patterns suggest different attitudes to speakers of the respective speech varieties. A given intonation pattern may suggest one attitude to a speaker of one dialect , and another attitude to a speaker of another dialect. If this is the case, as speakers attempt to communicate across dialects they might, because of intonational differences, perceive attitudes in one another which were not originally there. In this case, the possibilities of mis-communication are quite high. In the incident cited above, it may have been that the Standard English-speaking policeman understood a wide pitch range to have a meaning of anger, bordering on violence. The Black English-speaking youths, on the other hand, might not have intended to communicate this attitude; rather a wide pitch range in their dialect may have been intended to communicate an attitude of playfulness. Thus, the use of wide pitch range would communicate an attitude of anger in Standard English, but would communicate a different attitude in Black English.

There are two problems with this analysis. One is that it assumes that the attitude which is communicated to Speaker B is different from the attitude intended by Speaker A. How do we know that the speaker of Black English did not _intend_ to communicate a hostile or aggressive attitude? At the level of one-to-one interaction it is extremely difficult to separate intent and effect. The second problem has to do with the basically atomistic nature of such an analysis. It attempts to explain too little when it examines Speaker A and Speaker B in isolation from the larger contexts of Speech Community A and Speech Community B. It may well be that the broad differences in intonation patterning between the two dialects reflect broad differences in attitude towards the speech event itself within the two speech communities.

Interpretation Two: The social rules governing the function of the speech event may vary in the two speech communities, thereby affecting intonation patterns differentially. This alternative approach avoids dealing with the problem of separating speaker's intended communication of attitude, and the listener's perception of attitude. In this approach, one might describe the differences in intonation patterns between the two dialects, and ask how those patterns function in the different dialect communities. With this approach we may well find that the given intonation patterns do communicate the _same_ attitudes to speakers of both dialects; the Black English speakers may in fact be excited, or intend their tone of voice to be aggressive within a particular speech situation. The systematic difference in patterning of intonation between dialects may then be attributable to systematic differences between the different dialect communities with regard to their attitudes about the function of the speech event.

In fact, there is quite a bit of evidence that the speech event serves a distinctly different function in many instances within the Black street culture, as compared with its function within White American culture at large. Several researchers have commented upon the importance of verbal ability on the streets, in games such as the "Dozens", for example. T. Kochman (1969) points out that in the Black street culture, a very different sort of oral tradition has developed than in the White middle-class community. Basically, it is suggested that verbal ability has become a matter of survival in the Black ghetto. One survives there by his wits, by his ability to out-talk the other, and thereby to outwit him. (Labov, 1968b). One's power is perhaps more personal (as opposed to economic or institutional as in the majority culture); one may exert more power over other individuals in interaction with them by one's personal appearance, by "body language", and by verbal skills like "marking", "sounding", the "Dozens" and a variety of other highly-developed verbal techniques. (Labov, 1968b).

> The prestige norms within the culture of the Black inner-city child place a high premium on the ability to use words. The channel through which this ability is promoted and developed and through which recognition is given is oral-aural. Expertise via this channel is more highly regarded and developed in Black culture than in the White middle-class culture. (Kochman, 1969).

> Status on the street is not inherited or conferred but has to be earned. Acquiring status is a prime motivation for the Black street youngster. Verbal ability, like ability to dance, fight, sing and run, is highly prized in the Black community because such ability helps to establish one's "rep" (status). At the same time life on the streets is full of hazards and control over events is desireable. ...Verbal ability helps the Black child maximize control in these contexts, especially expert development of the directive function which permits him to establish control over people through the art of persuasion, manipulation, deception, and a developed sensitivity as to what motivates others.
> (Kochman, 1969)

If the speech event in the Black street culture serves such a different function from that of the speech event in the White middle-class culture, it would be surprising indeed if intonational differences did not mark that different function. Within the context of the Black street culture, the participant in the speech event brings to his communication attitudes and motivations which are different from the set of attitudes which a participant brings to a typical speech event within the context of White middle-class culture. (Kochman, 1969). The difference in attitude "set" should be reflected in a difference in intonational patterning -- if indeed, intonation and attitude are as closely tied as Pike would claim.

For example, in the "Dozens" game, the participants are competing and play-acting as they insult one another; they know they are not serious, but the game requires a demonstration of strength and of outrage. Hence, the wider pitch range occurs often in this context. Similarly, if one is "competing" in verbal ability in the streets, there is an element of aggressiveness and competitiveness in one's communication which is expected, and which one would expect to see reflected in the intonation patterns used. If there is a higher usage of level final contours used in Black English (as Loman suggests in his unpublished manuscript), Pike's observations about level final contours may be especially relevant:

> (...LEVEL contours add a meaning of UNIFICATION as well as RUGGEDNESS internally in sentences, and STRONG IMPLICATION at the ends of sentences, which is added to -- or contradicts -- the meaning of the words themselves).(Pike, 1946)

Level final contours which carry with them a meaning of strength and strong implication would appear to be entirely appropriate to the aggressive, competitive nature of the "sounding" or "Dozens" types of speech events which occur within Black street culture. There are at least two possible reasons for the use of such an intonational pattern in these speech events: (a) it could serve to strengthen the individual's "power" by its implication of strength, assurance and unification, and (b) it could put others in the situation on the defensive by virtue of its meaning of STRONG IMPLICATION -- especially in word games where the purpose is precisely to imply indirectly uncomplimentary messages about the other participants, their mothers, and so forth. A level final contour would be the most appropriate one for such a speech event -- it would be entirely suited to the purpose of many speech events which occur within a ghetto culture.

Another example of differences in intonational patterning which might be traceable directly to the nature of the speech event within the Black community, is the possible higher incidence of rising or level

level final contours in Black ghetto English in "call and response" communication. As Kochman points out, there is a much more active role assigned to the "audience" in the Black speech event:

> Black speech events such as rapping to a peer-group frequently involve active audience participation. For example, the "call and response" pattern and accompanying rhythms, which may also include handclapping, nodding and swaying, and which derive from the Black church service and the role the audience plays in that event, are often extended to secular speech events such as rapping to a peer group. The traditional notion of a passive-receptive audience for the classroom is modeled after the white prototype. As indicated above, Black audiences are active-participative.
> (Kochman, 1969)

Intonational cues may be used by a speaker within the Black speech event to indicate the speaker's expectation of participation from his audience. One of the "meanings" which Pike assigns to a rising or level final contour is that of incompleteness or of expectation of response.

> Rising contours generally imply that the speaker considers them incomplete by themselves, and needing supplementation of some type, by himself or by the hearer. The supplementation may be in terms of a further clause uttered by the speaker, or an answer which the hearer is to furnish, or an inference to be drawn by the hearer. (Pike, 1946)

In the rapid repartee of the speech event in Black street culture, there are few utterances in isolation; immediate response from the audience is usually expected in some form -- whether in the form of an answer, or an inference on the part of the audience about the topic. In such a speech event, the speaker performs and his performance is responded to. Every utterance may be subject to supplementation or comment from the audience; and the speaker's expectation of such supplementation may be reflected in his usage of rising or level final contours. Note here again that, while it is assumed that the intonation contour itself communicates the same "meaning" to speakers of both dialects, this interpretation would suggest that the nature of the speech event within the Black community would cause the contour to be used much more often, and in utterances where it would probably not be used in a White middle-class speech event.

A final example of intonational differences which might be attributable to the nature of the speech event in the Black street community is the use of a high pitch, or falsetto register, in certain contexts. Labov and others have reported that this high pitch (often shifting into the falsetto register) tends to occur only in informal speaking situations, when participants in a group are speaking in the vernacular. Johnson (1971) has pointed out that the falsetto often occurs in greetings as well:

> One of the most friendly greetings that can be given to another Black is to walk up to him and verbally greet him with a warm statement (often this verbal statement is delivered in a falsetto voice, the friendly level or "game" level)...

Johnson makes a direct correlation between the falsetto register and friendliness or playfulness appropriate to the verbal "games" played in the Black street community. Another possible, and somewhat broader interpretation, is that the high pitch or falsetto might function to establish a kind of rapport within a group within the Black community. Mitchell-Kernan, for example, has pointed out the importance of the speech event within the Black community in identifying the participants as members of that community:

> Control of the many facets of Black speech serves to create a consciousness of kind and rapport with other Blacks. Adeptness in the matter seems to be predicated on background knowledge and skills derivable from participation in Black culture. In this respect, the language of the community serves to promote unity among Blacks and to underline their community of interests and a point of cleavage with the relevant other who are, for many purposes, foreigners in this regard. These divergencies create a sense of estrangement because they make communication less efficient and more ambiguous when individuals from the different speech communities come into contact...
>
> (Mitchell-Kernan, 1969)

The use of the high pitch or falsetto register could be said to fulfill this kind of function in the Black speech event. It does not appear to be used in the same way at all in the White community -- rather, the high pitch and falsetto register appear to be particular to the Black speech event. It could be suggested that they serve to communicate an attitude of "belonging", of pride of membership in, or identification with, the Black community. As we shall observe shortly, Kochman has noted that intonation is one of the primary cues which may be used to satisfy the "ethnicity" of the Black context; it could be claimed that the falsetto register is particularly central to the establishment of that "ethnicity". In gfeetings between members of the Black street culture, for example, its use would signal that both the greeter and the greeted are in fact "brothers", and members of the same Black street community, different from the rest of mainstream "culture".

In summary, it is suggested that the evaluation of differences in intonation between dialects attains more descriptive power when consideration is given to the function of intonation within the speech event as it occurs in different speech communities and different cultures. Within this framework, it is not necessary to postulate different rules for the different dialect communities to account for the relation of attitude and intonation. Rather, as we have seen, it is possible to describe the intonation patterns of both dialects using the same rules (Pike's, for example) -- as long as the differences in function of the speech event in the dialects are taken into consideration. Thus, systematic differences in intonation patterning between dialects may be seen as functions of systematic differences between the two dialect communities in the attitudes they bring to the speech event within the community.

An individual's "knowledge" of the way in which intonation functions within the speech event within his speech community is thus a part of what Dell Hymes would term his "communicative competence" -- a competence which is "integral with attitudes, values, and motivations concerning language, its features and uses, and integral with competence for, and attitudes toward, the interrelation of language with the other codes of communicative conduct."(Hymes, in press)

Practical Implications

If intonation patterns differ significantly between Black English and Standard English, there are at least two practical consequences.

The first consequence is perhaps best illustrated by the incident described on page two of this document. All dialect divergencies may be seen as potential areas of mis-communication, and divergencies of intonation are no exception. Segmental dialect differences attract one's attention much more obviously as potential sources of problems in communication between dialects, because segmental features carry lexical meaning primarily. Suprasegmental dialect differences (such as intonation) may be much less obvious sources of mis-communication; because intonation affects the communication of attitude and not primarily the communication of lexical meaning, "tone of voice" tends to be reacted to, but not often analyzed. (Pike, 1946) Thus, while the white policeman in the incident might have expected the black youths to use a different vocabulary, or even a different grammar, he would have been much less likely to expect them to use different intonation patterns in communicating mood and attitude. If he interpreted their "tone of voice" as angry, he reacted to that message accordingly, and probably did not stop to analyze intonation patterns.

As our society becomes more openly pluralistic and as majority and minority cultures contact each other more and more, this difficulty will become of more and more importance. Consider the newly integrated classroom, and a white Standard-speaking teacher who is faced with a classroom of students who speak Black English. In this situation, teacher and students have a mutual need to understand how their language affects their relationship. The teacher may be faced with the problem of understanding a dialect which he has perhaps never contacted to any great extent. In understanding the students, and in understanding their language difficulties, he needs to have some sort of systematic understanding of the ways in which their language differs from his. For the teacher, an understanding of intonational differences and their function within the Black community is a part of that systematic understanding. Consider, for example, the reaction of such a Standard-speaking teacher to a question like:

$\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ the $\overset{3}{\text{tea}}\overset{1}{\text{cher}}$?

A falling contour is used here with a general question --- a contour which, in this context, might be considered aggressive, peremptory, and probably rude in the teacher's eyes. There might be classrooms where such a student might conceivably be sent to the office because of his rude "tone of voice". At this point, the teacher needs to understand that (a) an aggressive, strong, assertive "tone of voice" may be very functional for a student who participates in Black street culture, and (b) such a student can be expected to use intonation patterns which are systematically non-standard. Such an understanding on the part of the teacher is a beginning point for communication, and perhaps also for a similar understanding on the part of the student regarding the role of "tone of voice" in Standard White English communication.

A second practical consequence of intonational differences between dialects is also related to classroom interactions between standard and nonstandard speakers. Goodman describes the problem this way:

> Dialects differ in intonation. Perhaps what makes an unfamiliar dialect most difficult to understand is its unexpected pitch, stress and rhythm. Teachers often complain when they first begin to work with divergent speakers that they can't understand a word. ...Since intonation is essential in understanding oral language, it is logical to assume that it must be supplied mentally by readers as they read in order for comprehension to take place. How much comprehension is interfered with if the teacher insists on intonation patterns in oral reading which are unnatural to the divergent reader can only be conjectured at this time. (Goodman, 1967)

To the extent that intonation patterning in Black street dialect is used to establish rapport, group-feeling and familiarity, the insistence of a teacher on unfamiliar intonation patterns is extremely likely to make the reading matter seem all the more foreign, stilted and generally uninteresting to the non-standard reader. Here again, it is systematic understanding on the part of the teacher which is initially necessary, in order to help facilitate comprehension and interest for the nonstandard reader.

Methodological Implications

A descriptive study of intonational patterns in two dialects has implications for sociolinguistic methodology in two respects.

First, it is important to note that in the field of dialectology, there have been few if any studies done which compare the intonation patterns of two or more dialects of a language. Most studies have limited themselves to comparing segmental features only. We shall see in the next chapter that the study of the Black English dialect is no exception to this general trend. The approach which is used in this study in comparing the intonation patterns of two dialects of English, may be helpful in suggesting an approach to the examination of intonation patterns characteristic of other dialects as well.

Second, in the study of Black English, changes in intonation patterning are already being used by some investigators as channel cues to indicate when the vernacular style is being used by speakers of Black English.(Labov, 1968a) At this point, there is no objective justification for the use of intonational cues in this way. For example, a wider pitch range is one of the cues being used. And yet, as we shall see in the next chapter, no systematic studies have been done to indicate that a wider pitch range is in fact a characteristic of the vernacular style of Black English. An investigation of intonational characteristics of the vernacular styles of both Black and White English should provide more concrete evidence to justify the use of this cue in this way. In addition, such a study should be able to provide a more thorough description of other aspects of intonation which may be similarly important to sociolinguistic methodology.

CHAPTER THREE: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

We have observed that Abercrombie distinguishes three "strands" of features of speech: segmental, voice quality, and voice dynamic features; with intonation falling within the domain of the features of voice dynamics. Abercrombie also observes that different cultures and languages may differ in the extent to which they utilize these different "strands" in communication. Features of voice dynamics may serve very different functions in different languages, and may be more central to the communication of lexical content in some languages than in others.

Research into the general nature of social class dialects shows some evidence that such dialects may also differ in the importance assigned to the intonation "strand", and also perhaps in the patterns used within that "strand".

Bernstein , in characterizing the "restricted code" said to be used by lower class children in Great Britain, claims that information is transmitted "essentially through variations in extra verbal channels" -- that is, through rhythm, intonation, pitch, body language -- rather than through the segmental "strand", as is more typical of the "elaborated code" used by the upper and middle classes.(Bernstein,1962) Hymes cites implications of this model for sociolinguistic theory, and comments:

> ...one of the essential features of Bernstein's model for restricted and elaborated types of codes is that the grammatical and lexical restrictiveness of the first type is accompanied by intensified perceptual activity with regard to other cues of subjective intent, such as the paralinguistic. ...In such a case the two parties to a communicative exchange may be putting information in different places, and likewise looking for that of the other in different places.(Hymes, in press)

Hymes goes on to observe that information may be transferred via more than one "strand"; "what is signalled lexically in one case may be signalled with expressive intonation in another, and so on."

A study by Brooks, Brandt and Wiener was initiated to test Bernstein's claim that more information is transferred via the extra verbal channels in the restricted code. The Brooks et al study was particularly designed to test whether the feature of intonation appeared to be more important to lower-class children than to others.

> ...little attention has been directed to individual or group differences in the relative use of or response to different channels. In this context Wiener and Mehrabian hold that there is no apparent a priori basis for believing that individuals or groups speaking the same language (e.g., English) necessarily use the semantic or nonsemantic channels in the same ways. As a matter of fact, they hypothesize that, if the two groups have had differential experience with any particular channel, their responses to messages transmitted in that channel will differ. (Brooks et al, 1969)

The results of this study indicate that the "strand" of intonation may be more important to speakers of some class dialects than to others. Brooks et al found significant social class differences in the response of children to verbal reinforcers communicated either with congruent tonal inflection, or without it. Lower socioeconomic class youngsters did not respond as well to words without tonal inflection, as middle-class youngsters did. The Brooks study suggests that speakers of a lower social class dialect may attach more importance to intonation than do speakers of a middle- or upper-class dialect. (It would be important to know, however, whether the study was successful in isolating intonation from attitude.)

Not only may the strand of intonation be more important to the process of communication in certain social class dialects -- but the particular patterns or contours used within that strand may also vary from one social class dialect to another. P.L. Pfaff (1954) found that when junior high students were given the task of assigning an emotion to a particular vocal effect without "contextual material" (that is, without verbal content), the degree of "success" depended on socio-economic status. Youngsters low in socio-economic status were least successful in assigning the "correct" emotion to a given prosodic pattern.

One possible interpretation of these findings is that intonation patterns may communicate different attitudes or emotions to youngsters who speak different social class dialects. E. Kramer (1963) , in reviewing Pfaff's study, suggests just that: "'tonal affect language' may be different ... for different classes in a society."

In summary, then, there seems to be some evidence that social class dialects may differ in the relative importance of intonation, as well as in the patterns of intonation used. However, sociolinguists in this country involved in the study of Black English as a social dialect have never completed a systematic investigation of the function and nature of intonation in Black English.

Most of the observations about intonation in Black English which have appeared in the literature have been relatively impressionistic and unsupported by data. Labov has dealt most directly with intonational characteristics of the dialect, but he himself is quick to note the unsystematic nature of his observations. In his studies of Black English in New York City Labov used change of intonation patterning as the main cue in determining when a style shift to the vernacular had taken place.

> ...the paralinguistic criteria for confirming the existence of a style shift independent of the phonological and grammatical data were different in the Harlem study. Instead of selecting five channel cues, only one was used: change in intonation pattern. We observed dramatic shifts from the limited range of intonation contours characteristic of SE /Standard English/ and WNS /White Nonstandard/ to a much wider range, including falsetto, which is characteristic of NNE /Nonstandard Negro English/. This pattern is so regular that it proved to be the most reliable indication of a style shift. ...The results confirm the fact that intonation changes, even on an impressionistic basis, are good indicators of a style shift.(Labov, 1968a)

It is significant for this study that Labov found this pattern to be such a reliable feature of the vernacular style of Black English.

The importance of this "wider range, including falsetto" in the informal or vernacular style, has been emphasized by other researchers and scholars as well. For example, Austin (1969), in an article on the suprasegmental phonemes of English, when he does mention intonation in Black English, states:

> American Negro speech is characterized by intermittent use of high pitch,
> (Man, you can't do nuttin bout dat.)

At least one researcher, however, has findings which seem to contradict the general assumption that high pitch or falsetto characterize the BE vernacular. Susan Houston (1968) has suggested that if we divide the speech of school children into school register and non-school register, speakers of Child Black English will use a lower pitch in their non-school register than in their school register. In other words, the overall pitch, or mean pitch, of the children's speech was lower outside of the school than it was in a school situation. If a high pitch, or falsetto, is characteristic of Black English in informal situations, one would expect the mean pitch to be higher outside of a formal school situation.

Only one systematic investigation of intonation in Black English was ever undertaken. In 1967, Bengt Loman published his Conversations in a Negro American Dialect -- a collection of "modified standard" transcriptions of the speech of eight speakers of Black English and one speaker of White Standard English. These data were collected over a period of four months, recorded and transcribed with pitch and stress levels marked. The original intent of the Loman study was to describe the intonation and stress patterns of Black English, but the study was subsequently revised, and the data were published in transcribed form, with no further attempt at analysis or description. However, a preliminary analysis exists as an unpublished manuscript at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C. In this analysis, Loman categorized the final contours which were used in the conversations, according to phrase type, and then compared his findings with the rules for Standard American English intonation. His findings, although they must be considered preliminary, are worth replicating here. Loman finds three phenomena to be especially significant in distinguishing Black English from Standard English: (1) the high frequency of primary stresses, (2) a continuous shift between pitch 3 and pitch 2, correlated with a shift between syllables of primary stress and weaker stress, and (3) a frequent use of pitch level 4 as a substitute for pitch level 3, usually pronounced in a falsetto register.(Loman, unpublished)* Loman suggests that these features of Black English intonation are sufficiently deviant from the Standard English system to imply that they may have derived from West African prosodic systems. In summarizing the relationship of particular final pitch contours and phrase types, Loman finds: (1) the most common contour used with declarative sentences and fragments to be a -32 contour -- which sounds "particularly strange and unfinished" to a standard speaker, who would normally use a -31 contour; (2) general questions to be characterized by final contours which are mostly level, and rarely rising, while falling contours are used when the general question functions as a statement of fact; (3) special questions to be characterized by -32 or -2 contours; and (4) a -32 contour to be the most common final used with commands. Pike's intonation rules for Standard American English would suggest that the most common contours here should be (1) -31 finals for declarative sentences and -32 finals for fragments; (2) rising -23 or -34 finals for general questions; (3) falling contours, especially -31, for special questions; and (4) contours falling to level -1 for commands. (Pike, 1946) Thus, the Black English speakers in Loman's study seem to have used -32 or "unfinished" finals for most phrases, and level rather than rising contours for general questions.

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*In the notation system being used here, there are four levels of pitch, with Level 1 the lowest, and Level 4 the highest. Level 2 is taken to be the average or median pitch level.

It is worth mentioning at this point that the speech situation in which Loman obtained his data seems to have been somewhat stilted. The subjects were mostly children, being asked questions by an adult white female who spoke Standard English. The subjects seem to have been very aware of the microphone much of the time, and also of the fact that they were being paid for speaking. The speech situation, in short, does not seem to have been a particularly informal one, or one which was likely to elicit a vernacular speaking style. It seems likely that the subjects were in a somewhat alien situation, and one which could have been construed as threatening; the data which were obtained from this situation cannot be considered wholly reliable samples of a vernacular Black English. Nevertheless, even with this problem, the Loman study is the best attempt to date to undertake a systematic description of the intonation system in Black English, and his findings are the basis for some preliminary conjectures in this study.

Other investigators who have dealt with intonation have not attempted to obtain specific data about specific points of difference between Black English intonation and Standard English intonation; but, rather, these have concerned themselves with the possible *functions* of intonational differences within the Black community.

C. Mitchell-Kernan (1969), for example, discusses the way in which Black dialect serves as a marker of cohesiveness in the Black community, and comments upon the importance of "tone of voice" to meaning in that context:

> Crucially, paralinguistic features must be made to appropriately conform to the rules. Change in posture, speech rate, tone of voice, facial expression, etc., may signal a change in meaning.

Kochman (1969) expands upon this suggestion. He distinguishes between a linguistic concept of Black dialect, which concentrates upon its grammar, and a "social" or "popular" concept of Black dialect, which

> focuses on rhythm, intonation and pronunciation. Blacks who do not grammatically speak Black dialect still can satisfy the "ethnicity" of the Black context by modifying the latter aspects. Malcolm's speech, Message to the Grass Roots, satisfies the social concept of Black dialect more so than the linguistic concept, and is a good example of this. To show that it is really these factors and not structural ones that establish the social concept of Black dialect, one has only to observe those who attempt to satisfy the grammatical and lexical requirements, e.g. "She a fox," for "She's a beautiful girl," WITHOUT modifying the rhythm, intonation and pronunciation patterns, to know that they have failed to satisfy the "ethnicity of the black speech event.

Thus, as we have observed in Chapter Two, one of the functions of intonation suggested by these researchers relates to the purpose of establishing cohesiveness or "ethnicity" within the context of the Black speech event.

To summarize, then, sociolinguists appear to agree that intonation is important in characterizing Black English, particularly in the vernacular style in informal speech situations. However, they do not describe the particular intonation patterns used in those contexts in any systematic way, nor do they contrast those patterns to the intonation patterns actually used in similar situations by speakers of White English.*

*As mentioned previously, most studies of Black English have described primarily the segmental characteristics of the dialect. Some of the major studies in this area providing a segmental analysis of Black English are Pederson's Chicago study (1965), a study in Detroit by Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1967), a study in Memphis by Williamson (1968), and a study in New York City by Labov, Cohen, Robins and Lewis (1968a,b; 1966). Comprehensive descriptions of the segmental characteristics of Black English are also available in McDavid (1967) and Politzer & Bartley (1969). Such studies of the segmental features of Black English in such a variety of geographical locations have demonstrated that major features of the dialect are the same all over the United States. The Black English dialect is remarkably uniform in its basic characteristics all over the country. Generalizations made about the variety of Black English spoken in Chicago tend also to be true of the Black English spoken in Detroit, Fort Wayne, New York and Memphis.(Labov, 1968a) (For further discussion, see Wolfram, p. 43)

Only two descriptions of Black English, other than the ones cited above, deal specifically with suprasegmental features of the dialect, and in both descriptions the term refers only to the stress patterns characteristic of the dialect, and not to the intonation patterns. These descriptions are Billiard (1969) and Davis (1969).

CHAPTER FOUR: PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIONS

In beginning this investigation, it was expected that the intonation systems of Black English and White English would have much in common, and would differ from one another in a systematic fashion. It was considered to be appropriate, before designing and undertaking the present investigation, to obtain some indication of what those differences were likely to be.

Hence, a series of informal studies was conducted by this investigator in order to isolate intonational features which might serve to differentiate Black English and White English. These investigations varied in formality and structure, yet they served to indicate some fairly consistent differences in intonation patterning between the two dialects -- differences consistent enough to warrant more systematic investigation. In these studies, attention was directed first to those intonation contours and pitch levels used in BE utterances which appeared to be different from the intonation contours and pitch levels which would be typical of equivalent Standard English utterances occurring in the same situations. The criterion for this judgment was the intuition of the linguistically-trained native speaker of White English who was conducting the study. In order to substantiate those intuitions with more objective data, tape recordings were made of speakers of White English in similar situations. This second group of recordings was then examined in order to verify whether or not the same intonation contours and pitch levels were in fact used by the White English speakers in the same way as by the Black English speakers.

I. Study One

The purpose of the first pilot study was to obtain a sample of spontaneous speech from a small population of speakers of Black English and to examine the intonation patterns used, in order to determine whether any features of those patterns might merit future study as being characteristic of Black English, but not Standard English.

Elicitation of Data: The subjects were approximately eight boys, aged about 13 years, who were students at Washington Junior High School in the predominantly Black Central Area of Seattle. All the subjects were Black, and all spoke a variety of Black English. A tape recorder was left on top of a table in the library (a social gathering-place), recording (at 3 3/4 ips) the boys' conversation with the experimenter and with each other. The situation was extremely flexible, and the subjects came and went at will during the recording. The boys knew they were being recorded, and in fact began showing off, "sounding on" each other and then listening to the "sounds" on tape. After awhile they began to appear less conscious of the recorder, and a few utterances and interchanges of related speech were obtained on tape for further acoustic analysis. The game of recording and playing back "sounds" appeared to be effective in eliciting a vernacular style from time to time.

Analysis of Data: Only a few of the utterances thus obtained were clear enough -- that is, unobscured by background noise, laughter and other utterances -- for acoustic analysis. Of these "clear" utterances, a number appeared to this investigator to utilize distinctive intonation contours -- contours which appeared different from contours which would be used by speakers of Standard English in similar circumstances. The experimenter, whose fundamental frequency was very close to the boys' average fundamental frequency, re-recorded several of these utterances in Standard English for purposes of preliminary comparison.

The following procedure was used to obtain melody lines for the utterances. The tape was speeded up to 7½ ips when it was recorded on a sound spectrograph (Kay electric Sonagraph). A linear frequency scale was used, with a scale magnifier setting at 5 KC as an upper limit and at 1 KC as a lower limit. A narrow band analysis was then made. The melody lines were then obtained by tracing the first partial onto a separate piece of paper, on which time and frequency were marked. The melody lines thus obtained for the Black English utterances, and for four of the author's Standard English utterances, are displayed in Figure I.

Discussion: Observations of these preliminary data must obviously be sketchy. Because the data were obtained in a school situation, they cannot be considered to be necessarily valid samples of a vernacular style. However, several features stand out. The terminal pitch contours do not appear to lower as much as might be expected from the rules of Standard English intonation. Note especially the rapid interchange in Samples I, J, K and L, where Fo seems to be sustained instead of lowering. This sort of "level" final pitch contour may be characteristic of the sort of rapid bantering and teasing activity that was going on. Or, alternatively, it may be characteristic of the Black English dialect to use proportionately more level final

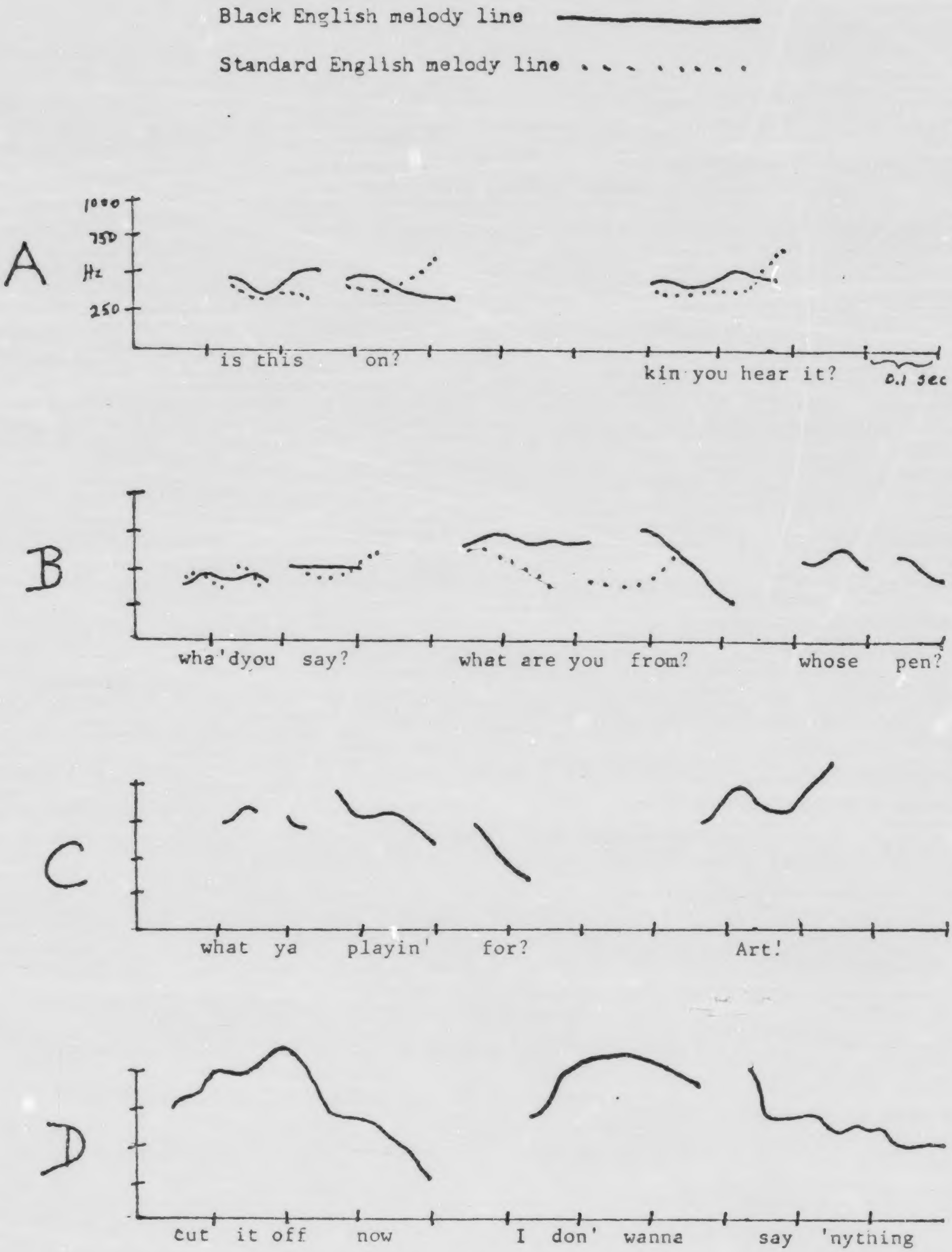
FIGURE I:

Black English and Standard English melody lines:

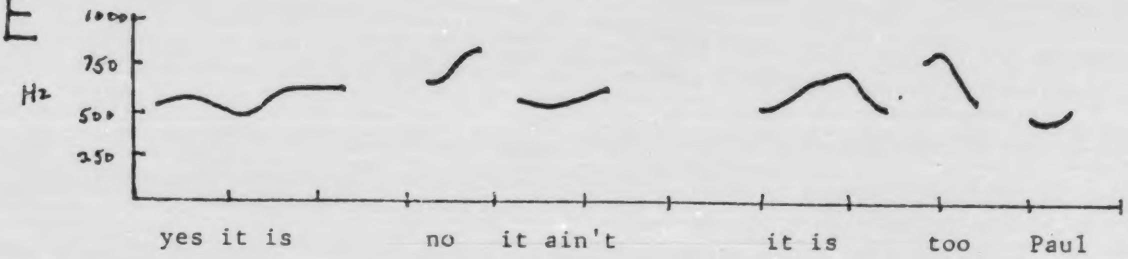
Pilot Study Number One

Black English ————————————

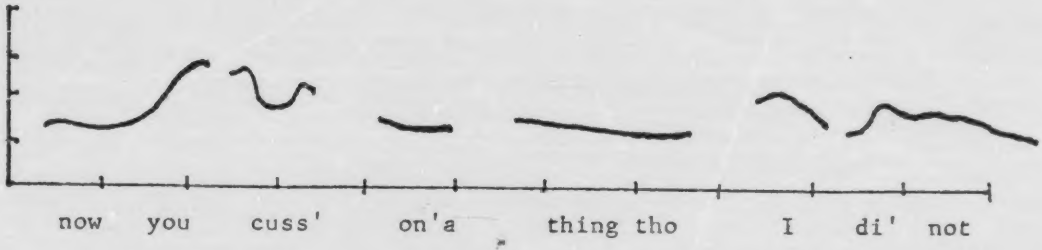
Standard English . . . .


Black English melody line
Standard English melody line
A
1000
750
Hz
250
is this on?
kin you hear it?
0.1 sec
B
wha'dyou say?
what are you from?
whose pen?
C
what ya playin' for?
Art!
D
cut it off now
I don' wanna say 'nything

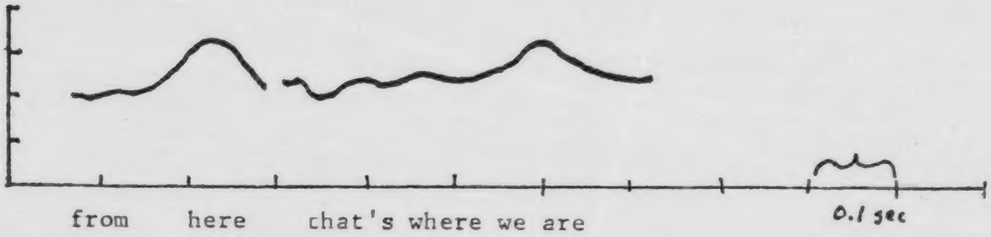
E


1000
750
Hz
500
250
yes it is
no
it ain't
it is
too
Paul

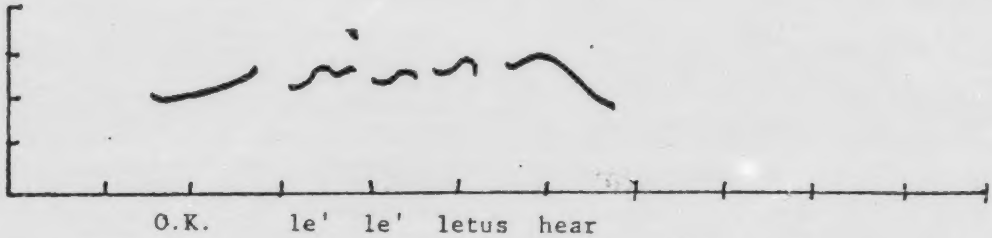
F


now
you
cuss'
on'a
thing tho
I
di'
not

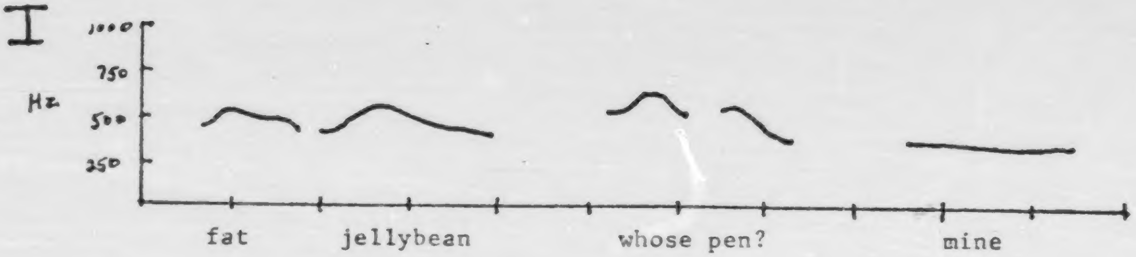
G


from
here
that's where we are
0.1 sec

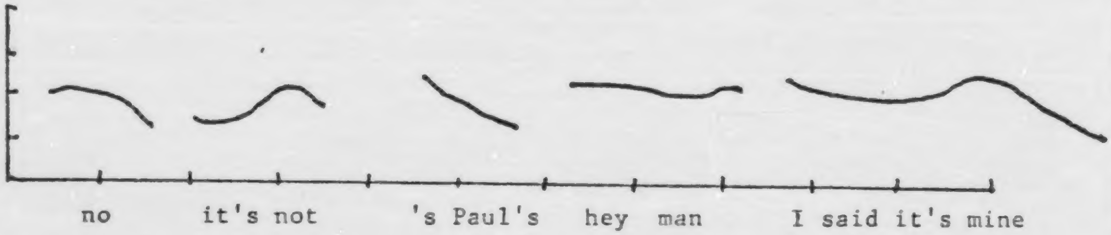
H


O.K.
le'
le'
letus
hear

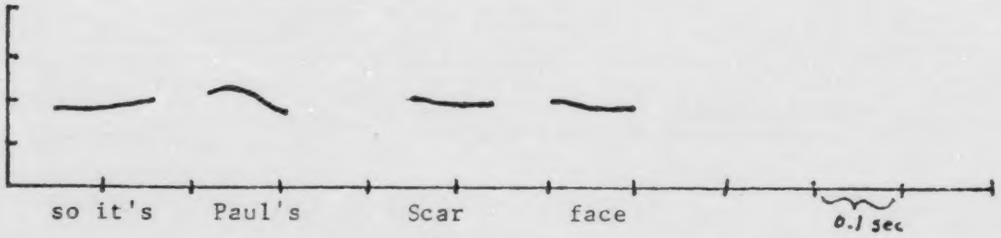
I


1000
750
Hz
500
250
fat
jellybean
whose pen?
mine

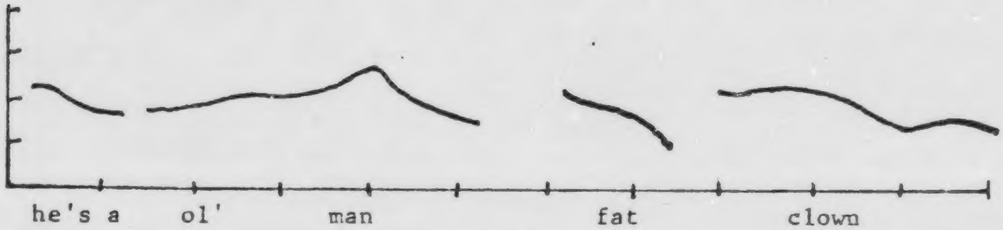
J


no
it's not
's Paul's
hey man
I said it's mine

K


so it's
Paul's
Scar
face
0.1 sec

L


he's a
ol'
man
fat
clown

pitch contours than the Standard English dialect.

The "intermittent use of high pitch" or "wide pitch range" mentioned by several investigators, did not appear to occur significantly in this sample -- whether measured by perceptual criteria or acoustic analysis. Samples C and D are perhaps the most likely utterances to exemplify this phenomenon; however, they did not appear to this investigator to be particularly characteristic of Black English as opposed to the White English which would be spoken by youngsters this age. It is conceivable that in this relatively restrained situation (a school library after all!), the "wide range" or "use of high pitch" may have been inhibited.

A striking difference between the BE dialect and the Standard English dialect, at least in this very limited sample, occurs in the intonation used for "yes/no" questions. It is common to find, in most discussions of Standard English intonation rules, a sharp distinction made between two types of question: special questions and general questions.

(1) Special questions are questions which contain an interrogative word such as "what, why, when, where, how, which," as in

What's your name?   How are you?

These questions typically use a falling terminal contour, although stylistic and situational variables may modify this pattern somewhat, as in requests for repetition (cf. Pike, pp. 46-47 for a discussion of exceptions to this rule.)

(2) General questions are questions which do not contain an interrogative word, which may be answered "yes" or "no", and which typically (though not necessarily) involve inverse word order; e.g.

Is this on? Can you hear it? Are you the teacher?

These questions typically are marked by rising terminal contours -- though, here again, stylistic and situational variables may modify this pattern somewhat.*

Thus, the rule which appears in texts of Standard English is:

(1) One uses a falling final contour for special questions;

(2) One uses a rising final contour for general questions.[55]

This rule appears to describe the Standard English equivalents recorded by this investigator and graphed in Sample A: however, it does not appear to describe the Black English general question intonation contours also graphed in Sample A. An examination of Sample A shows that the terminal contours of these BE general questions are characterized by a falling Fo. In accordance with Interpretation 1 (p. 8) one might suggest that there is a different rule for the intonation of general questions in Black English -- if it can be demonstrated that the speakers intended these utterances as general questions, and if the contours are not indicative of an attitude which is at odds with the lexical meaning of the words. An alternative explanation to account for the systematic difference in patterning might be (in accordance with Interpretation Two) a systematic difference in attitude for the speaker of Black English who is asking general questions in this situation. It may be more functional in a Black street community to use a somewhat stronger (falling) contour when asking general questions in threatening situations; a falling contour in this kind of situation helps the speaker to take the offensive in interaction and to put on a stronger "front".

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* There has been some controversy over the issue of whether or not terminal contours do rise for general questions in SE. A study by Fries presented data obtained from a TV quiz show, in which the majority of the final contours on general questions FELL instead of rising (in accordance with the rule). Fries hypothesized at the time that the so-called rule of intonation was descriptively inadequate; he suggested that in investigating intonation, the intuition of the native speaker linguist is extremely fallible, and that real data might often (as in this case) disprove "rules" formulated only on the basis of intuition.(Fries, 1964)

Subsequent to Fries' study, Harris did several studies in which he extracted data on general question intonation from a variety of situational contexts, instead of just one. The results of this study indicated that rising intonation was indeed favored for general questions, in accordance with the rule. In his discussion, Harris pointed out that Fries' data were taken from a very restricted situation, in which a succession of general questions to draw out specific information was being asked. However, when general questions occurred intermittently in extended discourse, the predicted rising final contour did in fact predominate.(Harris, 1971)

This controversy underlines the procedural difficulties involved in studying intonation. Great care must be taken to take into consideration the situational and attitudinal variables, as well as the grammatical structure of the utterances obtained in recording. Intonation reflects attitude and is extremely sensitive to situation; in a contrastive study particularly, great care must be taken to control not only the grammatical variables, but also the situational variables.

II. Study Two

The purpose of the second study was to obtain an indication of the intonation patterns used by speakers of White English in a similar situation, with particular reference to the intonation of general questions.

Elicitation of Data: The subjects were all White adolescents, four female and five male, ranging in age from 16 to 24 years. All were speakers of White English. They were participating in a class at

Tune Inn, an alternative school for potential dropouts associated with Roosevelt High School in Seattle. During the recorded session, the class was situated in a room furnished with stuffed chairs and pillows. The class was discussing a movie and relating incidents where they had come close to death, or been in accidents. The situation was informal; the speech was in the vernacular style; and the students were unaware that they were being recorded. The teachers did not feel that the students were inhibited by the presence of the investigator in the room.

The data were recorded on a SONY Stereo Tapecorder, model TC-772 at 7½ ips. The signal-noise ratio of the recorded data was very good. Approximately 45 minutes of conversation were recorded.

Analysis of Data: No instrumental analysis was performed on this corpus. Rather, the investigator isolated all the general questions which appeared spontaneously in this corpus, and classified them all as having either rising, falling or level terminal contours.

Results: During the conversation, there were 83 general questions used spontaneously. Of the 83, an analysis of the terminal intonation contours revealed that 74 had rising contours, 2 had falling contours, and 7 had level contours.

Discussion: This confirms that, for this corpus, in accordance with the rule for general questions in Standard English, most of these general questions ended in a rising terminal contour.

As a third preliminary check on the intonation of general questions in Black English as a possible area of divergence from White English, it was considered advantageous to determine whether two populations -- Loman's Black English-speaking group, and the Tune Inn White English-speaking group -- differed significantly in the intonation patterns used in similar situations for general questions. Loman, in his unpublished paper (p. 26), isolates 41 general questions which occur in the speech of his subjects; of these, he found that 6 had falling terminals, 4 had rising terminals, and 31 had level terminal contours. It would appear, on initially comparing Loman's study and Study Two (just reported) that the Black English speakers used predominantly level terminals, and significantly fewer rising terminals for general questions. These findings seem to agree with the findings presented in Study One for Black English speakers.

It is important to ask whether the two samples differ statistically in the proportions of rising, falling and level final contours on general questions. Since the scores to be tabulated are perceptual measures (rising, falling, level) and categorical, a nonparametric test of significance, the chi-square, is appropriate. A series of chi-square analyses was performed, as illustrated in Table I . The two groups were compared on two measures: (1) the use of rising final contours, as compared with non-rising final contours; (2) the use of level, as compared with non-level, final contours. A comparison of falling and non-falling final contours could not be made

TABLE I :

Chi Square Comparisons of General Question Terminal Contours: Study Two and Loman's Study

	rising	non-rising	
BE	4	37	41
SE	74	9	83
	78	46	124

Chi square = 79.28, $\alpha \leq .0001$

	level	non-level	
BE	31	10	41
SE	7	76	83
	38	86	124

Chi square = 55.15, $\alpha \leq .001$

statistically using chi square due to a small expected N in some of the cells.

An examination of Table I will show that the BE and SE groups were significantly different on the two parameters measured. The largest difference between the two groups occurred on the measure of rising vs. non-rising contours. We find that the Black English group used non-rising final contours significantly more often than the White English group.

It is difficult to make a strong conclusion on the basis of these data. The recording situations were different for the two groups, and because the transcriptions were made by different phoneticians in each case, one cannot assume that the categories which are being measured are the same for both groups. Nevertheless, with these qualifications in mind, such a strong indication of a difference between the two groups on this preliminary measure would seem to suggest that the phenomenon is worth investigating more rigorously and systematically. It seems probable that such an investigation would reveal systematic differences between speakers of Black English and White English in the intonation of general questions.

Thus preliminary indications were that Black English and White English intonation systems may be systematically different in at least three respects:

(1) In the vernacular style, Black English may be characterized by a wider range of pitch than White English, a range which often shifts into a falsetto.

(2) Speakers of Black English may use more -32 final contours and more level final contours than speakers of White English, when other variables are controlled.

(3) Speakers of Black English may use significantly fewer rising final contours for general questions than may be typical for speakers of White English in similar situations.

These preliminary indications were based on very informal studies and on fairly sketchy findings reported in the literature; they outline general topics as promising questions to be dealt with by a more rigorous investigation.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY

I. Problems of Sociolinguistic Research

William Labov, in a paper on "The Study of Language in its Social Context" , outlines some of the methodological difficulties involved in obtaining large amounts of well-recorded natural speech. He cites five "methodological axioms" which have been isolated in a variety of field research projects. These five axioms lead to a methodological paradox which is a central problem in sociolinguistic research.

(1) Style shifting. There are no single-style speakers; every speaker shifts linguistic and phonetic variables as the social situation and topic change.

(2) Attention. It is possible to range the styles of a speaker along a continuous dimension, defined by the amount of attention paid to speech.

(3) Vernacular. In the "vernacular" style, where the minimum amount of attention is given to speech, the most regular and systematic phonological and grammatical patterns are evidenced. Other styles tend to show more variability, with a great deal of "hypercorrection".

(4) Formality. When a speaker is systematically observed, a formal context is thereby defined, and the speaker pays more than the minimum amount of attention to speech.

(5) Good data. The best way to obtain enough good data on any one speaker is through an individual, tape-recorded interview: a formal context.

The Observor's Paradox which results from these axioms is best stated in Labov's words: "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation." In his paper, Labov goes on to suggest that when the sociolinguist is investigating standard and non-standard dialects, the paradox is heightened by the complex interaction of social values and social stigmas attached to non-standard speech forms. An important axiom which has emerged from a number of formal tests measuring social attitudes towards language is the axiom of vernacular shifting: whenever a subordinate and superordinate dialect of a language are in contact, in any formal situation speech patterns will shift from the subordinate towards the superordinate in an irregular and unsystematic fashion. In formal test situations, speakers of subordinate dialects have been found to be unable to perceive accurately the non-standard rules which they themselves use in informal situations. In general, it is not possible for most speakers to direct their attention toward the non-standard rules; after extensive contact with the superordinate dialect, speakers of the subordinate dialect no longer have clear intuitions about the vernacular available for inspection. This axiom of vernacular shifting applies only in situations where the languages or dialects are socially marked with regard to one another. (Labov, Studium Generale 23)

Vernacular shifting becomes especially crucial in this investigation, where the object of study is intonation patterning rather than the segmental features of the code. Intonation, which conveys important information about speaker attitude, should be even more sensitive to social situation than segmental language features, which as we have seen, are usually more closely tied to lexical information and content. In investigating intonation, it will be of crucial importance to obtain data in an informal speaking situation, in the vernacular style.

All sociolinguistic research projects have not been equally successful in avoiding the Observor's Paradox. Many investigations have obtained only a limited range of styles, concentrated toward the more formal end of the continuum.

There are several techniques which have been found successful in diverting the attention of subjects away from speech, and obtaining good recordings in a vernacular style. The interview situation may be interrupted, so that the subject forgets about the tape recorder. Within the interview situation, the subject may be involved in questions which recreate strong emotions felt in the past; a classically successful question of this type is, "Have you ever been in a situation where you were in serious danger of being killed?" A more systematic device for eliciting the vernacular style is the use of the normal interaction of a peer-group to control speech, instead of the reliance on a one-to-one interview. Other devices which have been used include rapid anonymous observations in public places -- as at bus-stops, and in department stores; and recordings taken from mass media broadcasts of interviews taken at the scene of disasters, where the speakers were too upset to monitor their speech.

All of the considerations outlined above must be influential in designing a sociolinguistic study such as this one. The study of intonation in a natural context, in the vernacular style, presents serious problems of data collection.

The techniques of data collection which were used in this investigation seem to have been quite successful in obtaining a vernacular style of speech, however. A combination of the devices just discussed was used. The tape recorder was inconspicuously positioned so that it could be easily "forgotten." The topic of the discussions was such that it aroused very strong feelings and emotions on the part of the participants; the conversations center around the topics of sex, male-female roles in the Black community, experiences with the other sex, and life values with regard to relationships with other people. The discussion instigator, Eve Wilson, was a Black woman with a talent for raising some powerfully controversial issues in this area. The resulting conversations, recorded in Appendix II, may be safely considered to be segments of speech in which the speakers were not monitoring their speech style to any appreciable degree. In addition, the presence of the peer-group interaction in all of the discussions served to additionally elicit a more informal vernacular style.

The contrast between speaking styles in different speech situations is especially strong in the data obtained from Charles Waterford. A vernacular style was used in his participation in the conversations just described; but in a one-to-one interview situation in front of a microphone, his speaking style shifts dramatically towards a Standard English.

II. The Black English Study

A. Purpose: to determine and describe the intonation patterns characteristic of the adolescent vernacular of the Black street community (Black English), and to compare those patterns with the intonation patterns occurring in two other speech varieties: (a) the adolescent vernacular of the White street community (White English), and (b) the formal style used by a speaker of Black English (Formal Black English).

Black English: In this investigation the term Black English will refer to the adolescent vernacular characteristic of the Black street community in Seattle. It is the speech characteristic of informal peer-group interaction, where the participants were raised in areas dominated by Black street culture norms.

White English: The term White English will refer to the adolescent vernacular used by individuals raised in areas dominated by White community norms, and used in informal interaction with members of the peer-group in the White adolescent street community.

Formal Black English: The term Formal Black English will refer to the formal speaking style of a native speaker of Black English, used in restrained, formal situations, especially in interaction with Whites who do not participate in the Black street culture.

B. Method

General Design: The study was designed in two parts. The spontaneous speech of two peer groups of adolescents was recorded in fairly equivalent informal settings -- one in the Black community, and one in the White community. The speech varieties thus obtained were vernacular Black English and vernacular White English (not to be confused with Standard English). The intonation patterns of the recorded vernacular speech of the two groups were transcribed phonetically, and the transcriptions of the two groups were compared. The significance of certain of the differences and associations between the two groups was evaluated. Similarly, the speech of one individual, a native speaker of Black English, was recorded in two settings in order to obtain two styles of speech: a vernacular Black English style which was essentially the same as that described above, and a formal Black English style. The intonation patterns of the two speech styles were transcribed phonetically and the transcriptions were compared.

Thus, the intonation patterns used in the vernacular Black English speech variety were compared, not with the rules for Standard White American English, but with the intonation patterns used in the vernacular White English speech variety and with the intonation patterns used in formal Black English.

The Subjects

The Black English and White English dialects are defined in terms of the individuals who use them. The two groups of adolescents in this investigation are differentiated on the basis of the community with which the subjects identify, and not on the basis of the subjects' race _per se_. The criteria used in determining whether a group is dominated by Black street culture norms or by White street culture norms include (a) predominant racial composition of the neighborhood, (b) adolescents' habitual manner of dress, (c) type of music and entertainment popular with the group, and of course (d) the groups' stated definitions of themselves in the form of verbal statements and body-language cues such as gestures of greeting which serve to indicate group identity and rapport.

The first group of subjects was a group of adolescents (aged 16 to 20 yrs) who live in a predominantly Black area of Seattle, and who participate in the street culture in that area. The group was dominated primarily by the boys, most of whom live within four blocks of a local community center, and who "hang out" at the center. The girls in the neighborhood drop into the Center somewhat less frequently, and primarily to watch the boys shoot pool and to talk. Almost all those who frequent the center are Black, and their mode of dress, body language, favorite music and entertainment all derive from the Black street culture. Two or three of the youngsters who live in the neighborhood are White. but these are recent arrivals in the neighborhood, and do not participate in the Black street culture. Comments of a local newspaper article with regard to this area of Seattle and this group of adolescents indicate that many of the extra-legal values of street culture are strong among some of them. Two or three of the group members have been sent to state correctional schools over the last two years, and the area is closely patrolled by the police department. Police officers and youth division workers regard many of these youngsters as walking candidates for arrest.

In the recording sessions at the Black community center, there were four males and three females participating in the discussion. All were Black, and all were speakers of Black English. Additionally, Charles Waterford*, the director of the center, participated in some of these discussions, using vernacular Black English as well.

The second group of subjects was a group of young people aged 16 to 24 years, who live in a predominantly White area of Seattle, and who participate in the adolescent street culture of that area. The group is composed of approximately equal numbers of males and females. Almost all of the group members are White, and their mode of dress, body language, favorite music and entertainment differentiate them markedly from the Black group; these reflect the norms of the White adolescent street culture. The members of this second group are dropouts from a Seattle high school who are participating in informal discussions at an alternative school; the 24-yr-old is a girl who is an assistant instructor, but who participates fully in this culture and whose language in this situation is basically the same as the adolescents'. The students are hostile to formal school, because the norms of street culture are markedly deviant from those of the formal high school environment. As with the Black group, many of the members of the White group have records with the youth division, and have spent time in state correctional schools. The alternative school facility has become a drop-in center for them, and many "hang out" there in their free time.

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*The names of the subjects have been changed in this document in order to protect their privacy and their legal rights.

In the recording sessions at the alternative school, there were four males and four females participating in the discussion. All of the transcribed utterances were of White speakers; although Black speakers were present and took part in the discussion, their utterances were considered to be influenced by Black English features and so were not included among the data to be analyzed.

In order to complete the second part of the study, Charles Waterford was interviewed in a relatively formal and stilted situation, in order to obtain a sample of his formal speaking style. Mr. Waterford is thirty years old; he was born in an Eastern inner city and participated fully in the street culture there. Since that time, he has been in the Navy, and worked in a variety of white-collar jobs. At present, he directs the community center in a Black area of Seattle. His job requires an ability to "code-switch" in communicating both with adolescents in the Black street culture, and with adults in the White middle-class community and in the Seattle City Hall who support the center in various ways. Consequently, Waterford has developed an ability to use a variety of vernacular Black English on the streets, and a variety of Formal Black English in speaking with White visitors and supporters.

The Physical Setting for the Discussions

The Black English discussions were recorded in a small lounge at the community center. This room contains the club's stereo and television, a number of black light posters, stuffed chairs and pillows. The participants sat in a circle around the edges of the small room, and members of the group entered and left almost constantly during the conversations. The recorder was on the floor, out of direct view of most of the participants, and the two microphones were positioned at some distance from one another. Unfortunately, this room is acoustically rather "live" so that recordings made here tend to be somewhat full of echoes. In addition, in the next room there was quite a bit of noise, as pool tables were in operation and a radio was tuned in to a Soul station at a rather high volume. Also, during the first recording session, a drill was being used intermittently in the next room, so that portions of the tape are unuseable. These poor recording conditions made it very difficult to obtain recordings of high enough quality to perform acoustic analyses on the data.

The White English discussions were recorded in a small room at the alternative school facility, which is brightly painted and furnished with several chairs. The participants were arranged in a circle, some sitting on chairs and some on the floor. Again, members of the group entered and left at will during the discussion. The tape recorder was on the floor, out of direct sight of the participants, and, again, the microphones were positioned at a distance from each other. This room too, is acoustically rather "live".

The Materials

A SONY Stereo Tapecorder, model TC-252, was used in recording the discussions of both groups. Two SONY low-impedance cardioid microphones, model F-25, were used, one for each channel of the stereo tape recorder. It was possible to separate the microphones with a distance of about five feet between them, and thereby to successfully distinguish the speakers from one another in the resultant recordings. The tape speed was set at 7½ ips, and the gain was turned up as high as possible without serious distortion of the acoustic signal.

Instructions

In advance of the investigation, the investigator, who was familiar to both groups of adolescents, asked them for their help in a confidential study being done for the University, which was related to adolescent groups in Seattle. Group discussions were being recorded in connection with this study.

After the investigation, the subjects were told that the recordings would be used to study their speech patterns, and were asked to sign statements of release so that the tapes could be used for this purpose. (Only one subject refused to release his taped utterances, and these were not used.) The subjects were assured that the tapes would not be used unless they gave their permission, and they were assured that the tapes would be strictly confidential. They were not told in advance that the object of the study was to analyze speech patterns because it was desireable for the subjects to pay a minimum of attention to speech during the discussions.

Procedure

The tape recorder and microphones were set up for each discussion as the participants were entering the room and before the discussions started. The investigator started the tape recorder, and then did not participate in the discussions to any great extent. Usually the tape ran out before the discussions ended; when this happened, the investigator simply turned off the machine.

The Discussions: Their Content and Cultural Framework

For all the reasons outlined in previous chapters, it is very important to understand the social situation in which the participants were speaking.

The Black English recording sessions centered around a series of discussions led by Ms. Eve Wilson, a young Black woman of exceptional ability and strong opinions -- with regard to women's rights and Black consciousness in particular, and human rights in general. She is originally from New York City, and presently lives in the University of Washington community. Her speech, while it is essentially Standard English, does of course shift somewhat in style towards a Black English norm in the discussions. In the recorded sessions, Ms. Wilson defended the position that women -- and particularly Black women -- are human beings, worthy of respect, and should be treated as persons instead of objects. She also spoke out for the value of Black pride and Black consciousness.

This basic premise came under quite a bit of attack from the teenage males who were attending the discussions. In order to understand the reason for this resistance (and often aggressive resistance), it is essential to begin to understand the cultural framework in which the Black males are operating.

In the Black street community, as in most American street communities, one's reputation is determined in part by one's ability to use and manipulate others without being used and manipulated in return. While it is obvious that such manipulation occurs in every human society at every level, it would appear to be more immediately crucial to personal survival on the streets, and perhaps more conscientiously developed as a personal art form.(Kochman, 1969) In the BE tapes the ability to manipulate is openly discussed as being an admirable quality, and susceptibility to manipulation is regarded as a personal failure.

One of the most admired figures for this group of males is the pimp -- a man who has perfected the personal art of manipulation. The pimp lives (and lives very well) off his ability to use women -- to manipulate their feelings to the point where they will do whatever he says. He is thus able to drive the women's cars, put the women's money in his own pocket, clothe himself in the most expensive and stylish ("bad") wardrobe -- thereby making himself attractive to more women he can use. The symbols of the pimp -- the Cadillac, the expensive clothes, the style of movement and dress -- are status symbols to most of these Black teenage males. Most of the latter attempt to espouse the same values, the same dress and the same life style as best they can -- to the very limits of their financial ability and beyond. The life style and status symbols of the pimp are directly attacked by Ms. Wilson in these discussions. Coming under special attack, is the pattern of male-female interaction which emerges here when males attempting to emulate the pimp image, begin to relate to the females of their acquaintance. The male attempts to use the females by getting them to fall in love with him -- getting them "hung up" on him, without getting personally involved. The females will then give him money, or clothes, or cigarettes, or records, or even just their time. The males' reputations and in some ways their survival in this culture, depend upon their ability to "fool" or use women in this way.

Because many of these females are susceptible to this game -- because they fall for the manipulation -- they are considered stupid and weak, and not as worthy of respect as males. Those females who do not fall for the game, who do not give the male anything, lose the male. He moves on to find other females who will allow themselves to be used. While he may respect the woman who does not fall for his game, he will not stay with her, for he believes his survival depends on his contact with women he can use. This is the attitude which is defended in the Black English discussions by the males.

It is interesting to speculate about the possible historical reasons for the emergence of this pattern of male-female interaction. One of the most plausible factors suggested by writers like Cleaver (1968) has been that, since the abolition of slavery in this country, it has been very hard for Black males in the city to obtain any kind of work which allowed them to keep their dignity and self-respect. On the other hand, Black females usually found it easy to obtain jobs which allowed them access to moneyed homes, as they worked as maids or cooks. Therefore, the females tended to have the money and be the economic mainstays of the family, and the males were economically dependent. Black males, blocked from establishing masculine pride and self-respect in the mainstream money market, began to establish reputation on the streets. Economically, they had to get their money from the women.

But they evolved a life style which says, in effect: "Though I may be economically dependent on you, I do not have to be emotionally dependent as well. I am still a man and still independent. To avoid dependence I will develop the ability to use and manipulate to get what I want without sacrificing my masculinity and strength and independence of mind."

As Kochman (1969) has pointed out, much of one's reputation on the streets is established by one's ability to "rap" -- to participate in the various verbal games and routines which may occur on the streets. In these games, one is able to demonstrate wit and verbal ability and to match that wit and ability against someone else -- in a game much like a game of chess. In these games, one has won when the opponent (1) is rendered speechless, with no more to say, or (2) admits defeat. (Such verbal ability and wit is not valued for itself in this way in middle class society. However a similar value was attached to it in the days of Samuel Johnson and Pope, when similar "verbal ability" and "wit" games were played among British gentry. Perhaps we have lost this rhetorical ability in the White community*-- but it definitely exists in Black society according to Kochman.

In these BE discussions, the speakers are playing such verbal games, in which they take opposing positions on an issue and proceed to try to outwit the opponent in a game of verbal chess. Ms. Wilson and Mr. Waterford take the position that women are capable of respect and can manipulate as much and as well as men.

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*suggested by W. Tiffany

Eve Wilson's basic -- and to these males -- revolutionary premise throughout most of the discussion was that this whole procedure can work two ways. She suggests that women can be just as "strong" in standing up for themselves and their own needs as men, and that they are able to think for themselves and see through the games. She maintains that both males and females need to respect each other -- particularly within the Black community, in order to build up that community. She holds that the "using" should be mutual and not just one-way; that everyone always uses everyone, but that it is possible to have this using be mutual and mutually beneficial.

The Black teenage males fight this stance throughout the discussions, maintaining that the most essential thing is to be out for yourself as a male, and that no woman can even compete by the same rules. Unfortunately for their position, in these discussions there is the added complication that Ms. Wilson is a Black female who is unquestionably competing with these males in the discussions, and even out-doing them at their own game. Her own existence and presence and undeniable rapping ability, disproves their basic premise that women are weak and stupid and incapable of standing on their own in the competitive street world. The teenage females side with Ms. Wilson, but do not speak out much while the males are present -- they seem to be a little overwhelmed by Eve's aggressive speaking style and the revolutionary attitude which she is expressing.

In Black English Session One, Ms. Wilson begins by attempting to shock the males. Her primary purpose here is to earn the respect of the males and gain their attention for later discussions. She introduces a series of usually taboo topics and does not mince words in asking her questions. (As in chess, the best defense is a good offense.) The males are taken aback -- both at the topics and at the fact that Ms. Wilson is a Black woman who is not afraid of tackling either the topics or them. As the discussion progresses, one by one, the males begin to try out different strategies in an attempt to box her in -- to put her in a corner where she has to admit a fault of her own reasoning, or where she has no answer, or where she has to agree with them. In the discussion between Eve Wilson and Miles Baker, for example, (which was subsequently talked about for days in the Center) Miles takes the position that selfishness is the way to live and that money is the supreme value -- money for him. Eve contends that she needs money too, and then manages to point out that Miles is dependent on women -- that, like it or not, he needs them. She culminates her play with a crashing pair of sounds on Miles (ll. 140-147) that send his friends into fits of laughter, and that make him subsequently leave the room for a time. The males do manage to make points in the game as well. Steve manages to catch Eve in a logical contradiction (ll. 274 - 281), but does not manage to silence her. Miles later returns to the conversation, but does not fare much better. The discussion ends when Waterford answers one of Eve's questions with a long plea for Black women to "get their shit together" -- to gain a better understanding of who they are and who they can be.

Session Two was recorded after one of Eve's discussions, after she had left. Only males were present, with the exception of the investigator, who was the only female and also the only White. During the session, the investigator and the tape recorder were apparently completely forgotten, as the males engaged in a sort of "locker room bull session" dealing with women in general. Charles Waterford begins by taking the position that Black women who do "have their shit together" do exist, and that they are to be sought after. Coolidge and Bert take exception to both points. Coolidge in particular is very much influenced in his orientation by the "pimp ethic" -- that women are to be used and not be attached to, that they are intellectually inferior. He maintains (ll. 65-6) that he can out-argue Eve or any woman in the "verbal rap" game. And, in fact, Coolidge's ability with words is unexcelled by any of the other Black speakers; it is masterful Black English. Bert backs down as the discussion continues, admitting (l. 362) that the picture Waterford paints of Black women with their shit together "does sound kinda nice." Coolidge, however, arranges to come to Eve's next discussion and match wits with her.

Session Three is the next discussion led by Eve, at which Coolidge is present for about ten minutes, until his friends call for him. Eve and Coolidge discuss a series of topics which in themselves are not as important as the game of verbal wit which is being played: the topics include male conceit, the ability of females to compete, and Coolidge's style of walking. Their discussion ends in a draw when Coolidge leaves, promising to return. Rosita ends up the session with a series of narratives about experiences she has had with males.

These first three Black English sessions were very informal, and the participants spoke in an informal vernacular style. Session Two in particular (the "locker room bull session") is a good example of Black English as it has been described by researchers such as Labov, Stewart and others.

Session Four in the Black community was designed to elicit the most formal speaking style of a Black English speaker who is accustomed to code-switching -- Charles Waterford. In this tape, Waterford is answering a series of questions about his role in the taped Session Two. He is very conscious of the tape recorder and the university professors who will be listening to the tape and to his speech patterns. Hence, he is very careful to use a very good Standard English. He speaks of the problems he has in code-switching, describes the non-standard dialect he and the adolescents use in Session Two, and begins to "translate" some of the terms which were used for the benefit of the University professors.

The White English session topics were kept as similar as possible. The first session was initiated as the group listened to Black English Session Two on tape, and then discussed it. This discussion deals with the issue of males and females using each other, and with prostitution in Seattle. In the second session, the discussion centers around the nature of marriage, male-female roles, and divorce. Although the topic of the discussion is often the same as in the Black English group, there is a distinct difference between the centers of interaction in the two groups. In the White group, the interaction tends to be topic-oriented more than speaker-oriented. The speakers attempt to center their attention on the topic at hand and adjust their comments to that. In the Black group, the topic of discussion is not usually as important as the "verbal wit" game which is being played with it, and on which attention is centered.

Principles of Transcription

The taped conversations were transcribed by this investigator, and are included in Appendix II and III.

Some of the taped utterances were unintelligible, due to a lack of sufficient volume for the tape recorder, or due to several speakers talking or shouting at once. When this has occurred, the script contains a notation: (comment), (unintelligible), or (shouting). In addition, the utterances of several of the discussion participants were discarded, for a variety of reasons:

(1) The utterances of Eve Wilson, group discussion leader for the Black sessions, were not transcribed for intonation. Her speech was not considered to be representative of Black English in grammar or vocabulary; it could essentially be described as Standard English. Nevertheless, portions of her speech were included in the script for Session One without the pitch levels marked in order to maintain some context and continuity in the text for the reader. Her utterances were included in the script for Session Three only when they appeared to be important for providing a context for Coolidge's utterances. Otherwise they were omitted.

(2) The utterances of one of the Black speakers were not transcribed or included because the speaker refused to release them for this study.

(3) The utterances of three speakers in the WE sessions were not included because these speakers were Black, and their speech

was characterized by Black English grammar and vocabulary.

The utterances which were selected for inclusion in the taped script were recorded in standard orthography. No attempt was made to transcribe the segmental material in phonetic script. Where the pronunciation of speakers varied considerably from the standard, the standard orthography was modified:

(70) She ain't gots to to' like I gots to to'.

However, for the most part, standard English spelling and punctuation were used in the written record. There were several reasons for this procedure, mainly:

(1) For the purposes of a study on intonation, the segmental features are important only insofar as they provide the phonetic context for a particular intonational pattern.

(2) Standard spelling is easier to read than pnonetic script.

The utterances were grouped into phrases; a phrase was defined as a segment of speech which fell between two pauses -- either a tentative pause or a final pause. (see Pike, p. 31) A pause may be a cessation of speech, or it may take an alternate form in which the last sound or two of the preceding word is lengthened so that speech tempo may shift or the sound quality may change. (For further discussion of phrases and terminal juncture in classifying material such as this, see Loman) Pauses associated with hesitation phenomena such as "um, uh, well," were not usually considered to delimit the boundaries of phrases; this decision was made on the basis of the length of pause and content of the utterance. It is important to note that a phrase, by this definition, is not based upon the grammatical structure of the utterance.

but on the incidence of terminal juncture. So, for example, in the White corpus, several speakers use very long, complicated sentences which are, grammatically, complete sentences; however, as they speak, they pause frequently, adding clauses and subordinate constructions that are, by the classification just described, fragments. It is important to stress, then, that the segmentation of the data is done not on the basis of grammatical structure, but on the basis of performance phenomena.

These phrases were classified, as to the grammatical type of the phrase, as one of the following:

(1) declarative sentence -- basically, a phrase containing a subject and a verb. Where the subject or verb is clearly understood, as in phrases where a linking verb is missing, the phrase is called a declarative sentence: "He my friend."

(2) fragment -- a phrase with no subject or no verb; this category also included the dependent clauses of conditional sentences if such clauses were followed by a terminal juncture.

(3) general question -- a question which does not begin with an interrogative word, and which may be answered "yes" or "no." This category also included reiterative tag questions ("It's Tom, isn't it?") and requests for repetition ("What did you say?").

(4) special question -- a question beginning with an interrogative word and requiring specific information in reply; this category includes questions with alternative or: ("Is she here or there?")

(5) interjections -- a one-word or unit-phrase response, such as:

(a) Yeah, yes, mmhm, really, right, okay

(b) no, nope, uhuh, mm.mm

(c) exclamations: shit, man, ooh, oh, shoot, hell, wow

(d) fillers: uh, hey, hey man, well, man, okay, you know

(e) imitations: duhhhh

(6) commands - a type of declarative sentence in which the subject is "understood" and the function is to direct another's activity.

This classification is purposely similar to that used by Loman, for purposes of comparison between the studies. Certain changes were made in this system however, in order to simplify the number of categories.

Finally, the intonation contours were marked as consisting of four pitch levels:

(4) very high

(3) high

(2) average

(1) low

An attempt was made to use only four pitch levels, since, as Pike has suggested, only four levels are needed to mark the meaningful contrasts used in English intonation. However, it was found to be necessary to indicate as well an additional phenomenon in Session Two particularly -- a shifting of the entire pitch pattern into a falsetto register. Instead of creating more pitch levels above Level Four to accommodate this shift, it was found to be more accurately descriptive to simply use the same four pitch contrasts, while indicating that these contrasts were being made in a different register, or at a different average pitch level than normal. This was considered to be more descriptively accurate, because the same pitch patterns were being used, whether they occurred in normal register or falsetto register, and it was felt to be good to record that fact somehow.

In Session Two, particularly, this deliberate shifting of the entire pitch range seems to be used as a part of the art form of speaking in the verbal wit game, and is used to indicate rhetorical contrasts. Therefore, for such sections of the Black English data, additional notations may be found to indicate that the pitch contrasts are being made in a falsetto register:

(31) $\overset{3F}{\text{She}}$ $\overset{2F}{\text{got}}$ to have somethin to offer $\overset{4F\ 2F}{\text{me.}}$

or in a higher pitch range than is normal for that speaker:

(70) $\overset{3L}{\text{she}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ain't}}$ gots to to' like I gots to $\overset{3}{\text{to'}}$ --

(71) $\overset{2H}{\text{but}}$ $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{still,}}$ just to show that she's puttin forth some
$\overset{3}{\text{effort,}}$

The notation F indicates that the falsetto is used for the indicated segment; the notation N means a return to normal register for the indicated segment and those following. The notation H means a higher than normal pitch for the indicated segment, and the notation L marks a return to a lower pitch for the indicated segment and those following. There are segments of the conversation where a speaker may alternate between falsetto and normal registers within the same utterance, apparently substituting the falsetto for a pitch 4 (as previously described by Loman). In such cases the falsetto notation F and the normal register notation N mark the segments in which this alternation may occur:

      3F 2N   3F 2N   3F
(250) You got to realize that,

It should be noted that in this type of notation, where a number or a letter occurs on a segment, and subsequent segments are unmarked, this means that the subsequent segments continue on the same general pitch and in the same general register until a segment is marked differently. Thus, in the example (31) on the previous page, where we find: "$\overset{\text{2F}}{\text{got}}$ to have somethin to offer $\overset{\text{4F2F}}{\text{me.}}$" the notation indicates that the entire phrase occurs in 2F until the word "me", where the notation changes.

In order to facilitate quantification of the data, a record was obtained of the final pitch contours used, and these were cross-classified according to the phrase types in which they occurred. (A terminal contour in intonation constitutes the pitch levels occurring on the final stressed syllable and all the unstressed syllables following, until the end of the phrase, according to Pike (1946).)

It took approximately two months to complete the transcriptions of the entire body of data. The transcription procedure was extremely time-consuming and involved a great deal of cross-checking to ensure accuracy.

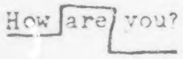
The Transcriptions

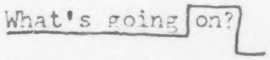
One of the problems with analyzing these utterances linguistically (as opposed to acoustically) is that linguistic analysis is based on human perception and not upon more "objective" physical measurement. As a result, extreme care must be taken in any study which relies upon linguistic transcription, to insure that the transcriber's perceptions are as reliable as possible. This problem is especially acute in any study dealing with intonation, due to its uncertain phonological status. Upon what acoustic cues is the transcriber basing perceptions of intonation? Would another transcriber find the same general patterns of pitch in transcribing the same data? And how closely would transcribers come to one another in their perceptions? The answer to these questions must determine the limits of confidence which may be placed upon the particular findings presented in this study.

There are at least two ways of determining those limits: (1) having other phoneticians transcribe selected utterances, and comparing their transcriptions with those of the investigator; and (2) obtaining acoustic measurements of the fundamental frequency of the utterances and comparing these with the investigator's transcriptions in order to locate some "objective" basis for those perceptions. This study utilized a combination of both strategies.

Two other members of the University of Washington Speech Department, trained in phonetic transcription, were asked to transcribe the first few minutes of taped Session Two. Transcriber #2 has been a practicing phonetician for about 20 years and has published texts in the field.

Transcriber #3 is a graduate student in speech science who has taught beginning phonetics courses at the university. The transcribers were asked to mark the pitch levels of the utterances they heard on an accompanying script containing a typed record of the utterances. The transcribers were asked to listen to the utterances as often as they wished in order to accomplish their task. They were also asked to use a system of four pitch levels (described on p. 70) in their transcription if possible; it was suggested that they might find a "line" system easier than a "number" system, thus:





It was also suggested to the transcribers before they began their task that they might find portions of the taped speech occurring in a falsetto register. If this occurred, they were asked to indicate this fact by writing F just before those segments which occurred in falsetto, and N when the speech returned to a normal register. They were also asked to stay within four levels of pitch if possible, even when transcribing the falsetto portions; however, it was also suggested that they might find it necessary to use a fifth pitch level for falsetto segments, and that they were to use their own judgment in transcribing such portions.

The transcriptions produced by the investigator and the other two transcribers are presented in Table II. The lines used by the three transcribers are superimposed for comparison.

A glance at this table will show that while the three transcribers differed from one another systematically with regard to the strategies they used in transcribing the utterances, and while they did not always

TABLE II :

A Comparison of the Pitch Level Transcriptions of Three Phoneticians

In the following line transcriptions of intonation contour, the perceptions of three different transcribers are compared. The intonation contours produced by each transcriber are indicated as noted below:

Transcriber #1 ————————————

Transcriber #2 - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Transcriber #3 . . . .

Transcriber #1 is the investigator who transcribed the data contained in the appendices. "F" indicates falsetto, as perceived by Transcriber #1.

S (1) You get a chick with her mess together boy and she just --

(2) half you dudes ain't seen nothin.

C (3) O wow.

(4) No, you see, that's that's where you wrong.

S (5) You can't afford my car,

(6) you can't afford to put clothes on my back, you can't afford to feed my kids,

(7) you can't afford the rent on my house,

(8) and there ain't nothin you can say.

C (9) I, nice and easy back up, say check it out.

S (10) Check out what?

C (11) If that's all she's lookin for,

(12) she's lookin in the wrong place when she look my way,

(13) because, I mean,

(14) I de, definitely wouldn't be after her desperately.

(15) There's other young ladies same as you can say there's other young men.

C (16) It's just that simple.

(17) And I mean, she may be lookin good. . (comments)

(18) she may be lookin good, but uh (comments)

S (19) You!

(20) You!

(21) Wait!

(22) You!

(23) You!

(24) Crazy about you!

B (25) Really. . .

S (26) You got to be puttin me on!

B (27) Are you kidding?. . .

S (28) Am I kidding?

(29) Hell, no, I'm not kidding!

(30) What have you got --

B (31) She got to have somethin to offer me.

S (32) Oh, I know it.

B (33) Hey, like somethin.

S (34) Like what?

B (35) Like a few coins out of her pocket, or anything.

S (36) Well, what are you gonna be doin?

B (37) What am I gonna be doin?

S (38) Yeah.

B (39) Shoot, support who -- whatever it is. . (comments, shouting)

C (40) Shoot, check it out, Springfield.

(41) All you're doin is backin yourself up into a corner. (comments)

B (42) She's not supposed to be able to offer me anything?

C (43) No, you're talkin about puttin coins in your pocket and from
what he just said ---

C (67) I don't play that game.

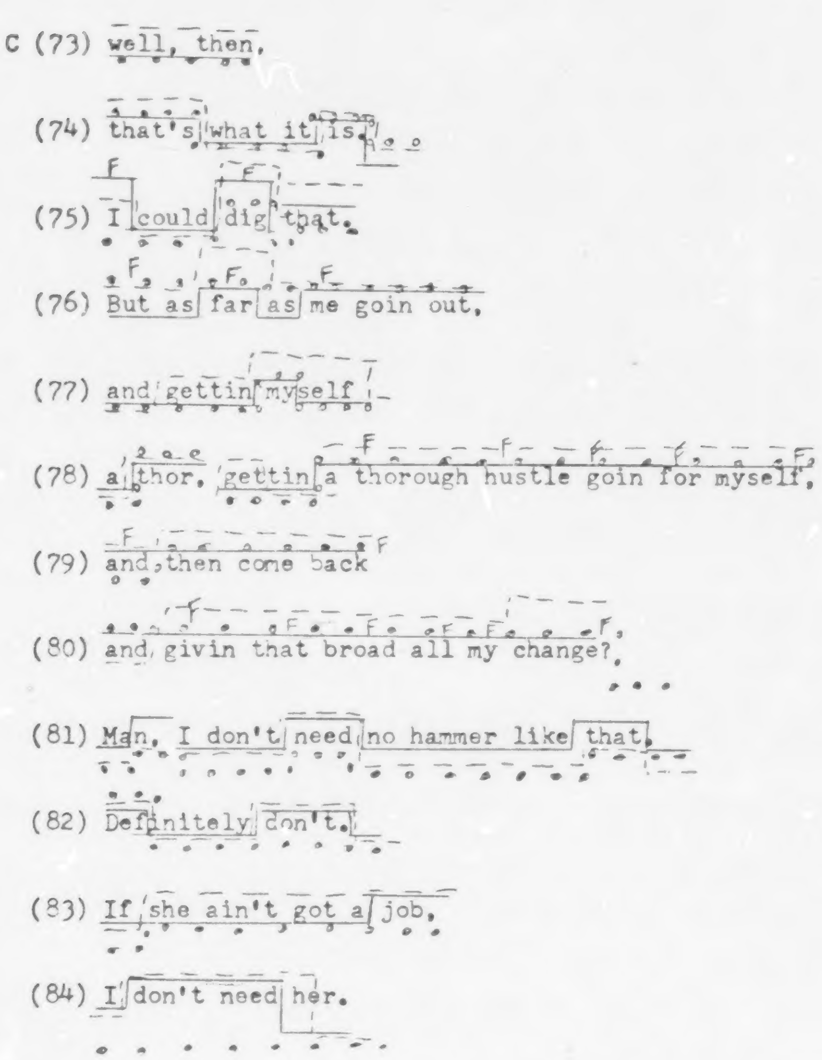
(68) If she gonna get on out there,

(69) and, and get down --

(70) she ain't got to to' like I got to to' --

(71) but still, just to show that she's puttin forth some effort,

(72) and, uh, tryin to help out too --



C (73) well, then.

(74) that's what it is.

(75) I could dig that.

(76) But as far as me goin out,

(77) and gettin myself

(78) a thor, gettin a thorough hustle goin for myself,

(79) and, then come back

(80) and, givin that broad all my change?

(81) Man, I don't need no hammer like that.

(82) Definitely don't.

(83) If she ain't got a job,

(84) I don't need her.

agree as to the exact pitch level, they do seem to agree rather substantially with regard to shape of the pitch contour -- that is, a rise or fall in pitch was generally agreed upon by all three. For example, in utterance (2), all three agree that there was a falling contour over the phrase length; there is disagreement as to the pitch levels involved, and as to the point within the utterance where the fall began.

Since the three transcribers do seem to have adopted different strategies, it is worthwhile to describe the strategies adopted by the other two phoneticians in more detail.

Transcriber #2 did use a fifth pitch level, higher than pitch 4, in his transcriptions in order to indicate the occurrence of the high falsetto pitch. He also noted the occurrence of falsetto or normal register by writing F or N at the beginning of an utterance in which he felt there was some shifting of registers.

Transcriber #3 used only four pitch levels, and did not note the occurrence of falsetto or normal register at all. She also differed markedly from Transcribers #1 and #2 in making extensive use of the lower pitch levels, especially using a -21 final contour. She also appears to have used more level contours, while Transcriber #1 and #2 indicated a wider variation of pitch in their transcriptions.

The differences in strategy adopted by these two transcribers may be summarized briefly. Transcriber #3 was apparently using a much higher pitch as "normal" for the speakers, a strategy which seems to have shifted all her marked contours down in pitch. On the other hand, Transcriber #2 was apparently adopting a lower pitch as his norm -- thereby finding it necessary to adopt a pitch category five in order to accommodate the higher pitches. Similarly, Transcribers #1 and #2 found it important to indicate fluctuations of pitch within the contour which Transcriber #3 did not consider significant; hence, the contours transcribed by #3 appear to be much more level than those transcribed by #1 and #2.

Transcriber #1 and #2 agree with one another in strategy much more than with # 3. Transcribers #1 and #2 differ from one another primarily with regard to the strategy used in marking the high or falsetto register; Transcriber #1 (the investigator) used only four pitch levels, but indicated the occurrence of falsetto by adding the notation F on segments where falsetto occurred. (The rationale for this strategy is explained on pp. 70-71.) Transcriber #2 adopted five pitch levels, apparently using the fifth level to accommodate the high falsetto pitches which usually do not occur in Standard English. Given these differences in strategy of transcription, the intonation contours shown in Table II become much more similar to one another.

In Table III the three transcribers are compared with respect to the particular final contours perceived in terms of numbers. It will be noted that in some of the final contours (those marked with asterisks) the transcribers do disagree rather markedly with regard to the shape of the final contour. Most of the disagreement occurs between Transcriber #3 and the other two; Transcriber #3 disagrees with Transcriber #1 on the direction of the final contour about 23% of the time. Transcriber #2 disagrees with Transcriber #1 on the direction of the final contour 8% of the time.

It is worth repeating at this point that the transcription of intonation is a perceptual measure. Where transcribers differ from one

TABLE III:

A Comparison of Final Pitch Contours as Produced by Three Transcribers

Final Contours: Three Transcribers

	Transcriber #1	Transcriber #2	Transcriber #3
(1)	-32	-2	-3
(2)	-31	-21	-21
(3)*	-32	-21	-1
(4)	-41	-53	-32
(5)	-23	-23	-23
(6)	-23	-23	-23
(7)	-31	-31	-21
(8)	-31	-31	-21
(9)	-31	-31	-21
(10)	-31	-31	-31
(11)	3	-2	-3
(12)	-43	-52	-32
(13)	-2	-31	-21
(14)	-42	-312	-321
(15)	-31	-32	-31
(16)	-31	-21	-21
(17)*	-32	-34	-32
(18)	-32		-32
(19)	-42	-52	-4
(20)*	-42	-52	-4
(21)*	-41	-52	-34
(22)*	-42	-52	-4
(23)	-42	-52	-4
(24)*	-42	-53	-34
(25)	-41	-41	-32
(26)*	-41	-42	-43
(27)*	-23	-34	-42
(28)	-42	-53	-43
(29)*	-23	-3	-21
(30)	-2	-5	-3
(31)	-42	-32	-31
(32)	-31	-32	-32
(33)	-42	-32	-42
(34)	-31	-32	-31
(35)*	-41	-32	-2
(36)*	-41	-32	-21
(37)*	-4	-3	-32
(38)	-32	-31	-32
(39)	-31	-43	-32
(40)	-23		-2
(41)	-31	-31	-32
(42)*	-3	-4	-31
(43)	-32	-3	-32
(67)*	-41	-53	-32
(68)	-23	-3	-23
(69)**	-23	-3	-32

	Transcriber #1	Transcriber #2	Transcriber #3
(70)	-23	-23	-21
(71)*	-23	-34	-32
(72)	-23	-34	-23
(73)	-2	-3	-2
(74)	-31	-32	-32
(75)	-423	-534	-312
(76)	-3	-3	-3
(77)	-32	-43	-32
(78)	-3	-4	-3
(79)	-3	-4	-3
(80)*	-3	-45	-31
(81)*	-32	-22	-12
(82)	-32	-32	-2
(83)*	-23	-3	-2
(84)*	-31	-31	-1

another in a systematic way, it is most likely that they are utilizing different cues upon which to base their perceptions. (Intonation transcription may be based upon perception of pitch, and also upon perception of loudness or duration.) Where the investigator differs with other transcribers in her transcriptions, it is useful to have some idea of the particular cues which she is using in her transcriptions of intonation, if this is possible. In this study, those utterances on which there was extreme disagreement on the direction of the final contour were selected for further study by spectrographic examination; this procedure was used to obtain some "objective" measure of the direction of fundamental frequency change, and to see if the investigator's transcriptions seemed to correspond with this particular cue. Narrow band spectrograms were prepared for the "problem" utterances, and the lowest clear partial was traced onto a separate sheet of paper inorder to obtain a record of the shape of the fundamental frequency contour. These spectrograms are displayed in Table IV. Where the narrow band analysis did not produce a clear display of partials, a wide band analysis was made of the utterance, and the vertical striations were counted in order to obtain another measure of fundamental frequency.

A comparison of the spectrograms and the transcriptions of the three phoneticians seems to indicate that in general, Transcribers #1 and #2 seem to be basing their perceptions upon the changes in Fo as recorded by a sound spectrograph; that is, the direction of change of the fundamental frequency appears to coincide much more with the direction of pitch change noted by Transcribers #1 and #2 than with the

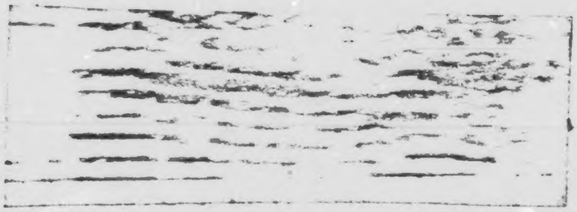
TABLE IV:

Narrow Band Spectrograms of Utterances Where Transcribers Disagree on Final Contours

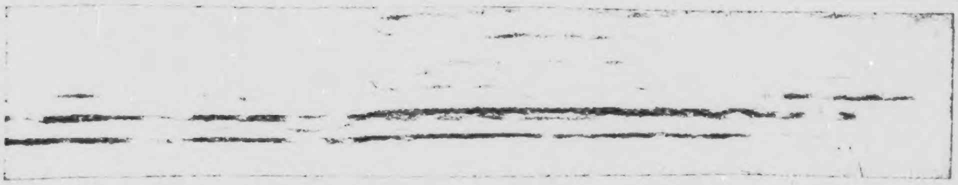
Transcriber #1 ____________________

Transcriber #2 - - - - - - - - - - -

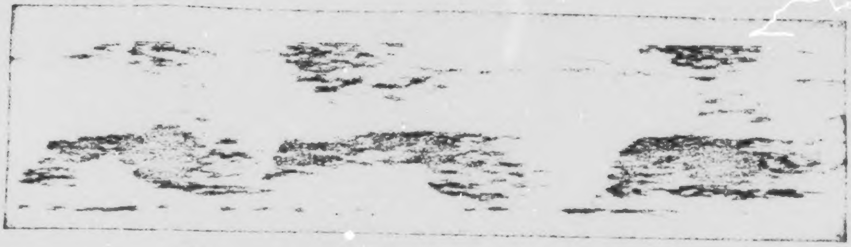
Transcriber #3 . . . .



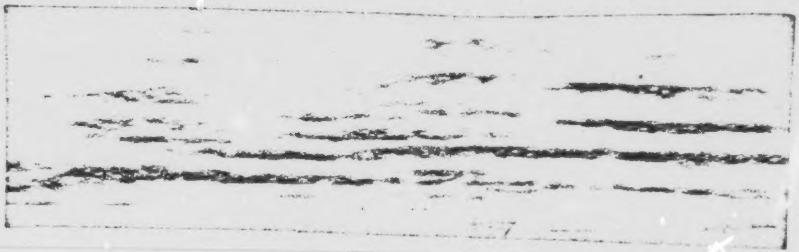
(3) Oh wow.



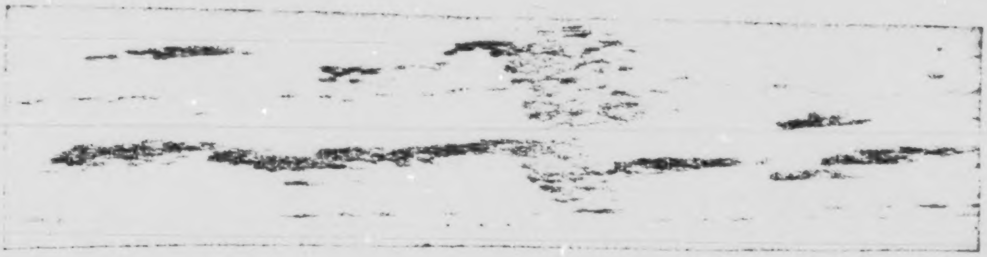
(17) lookin good



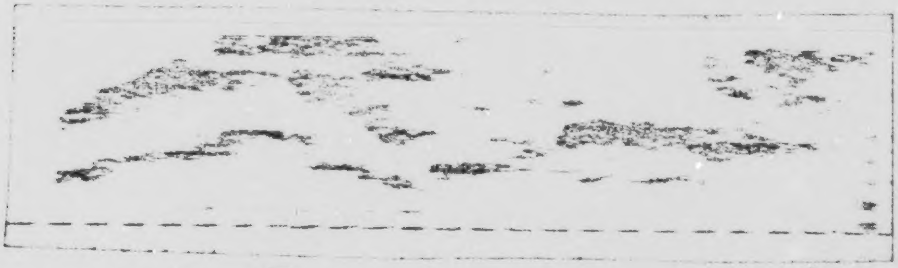
(20) You! (21) Wait! (22) You!



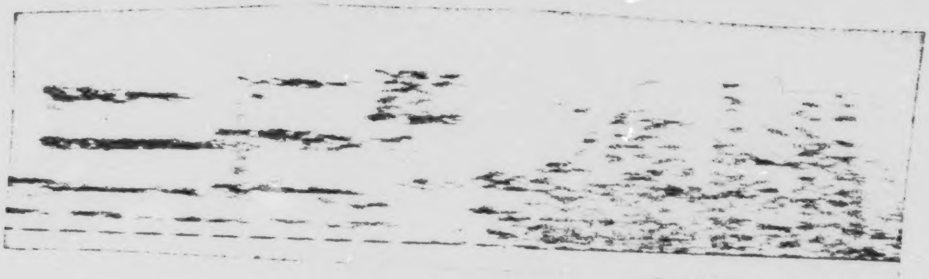
(24) Crazy about you!



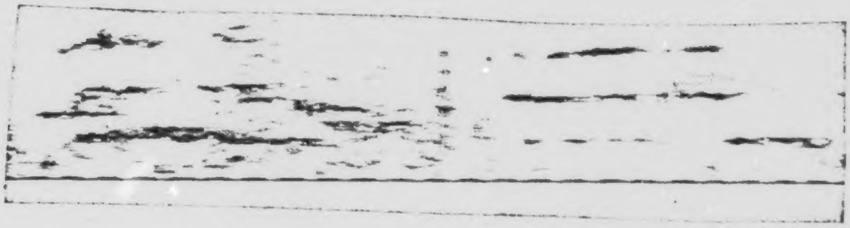
(26) You gotta be puttin me on. (27) Are you kidding?



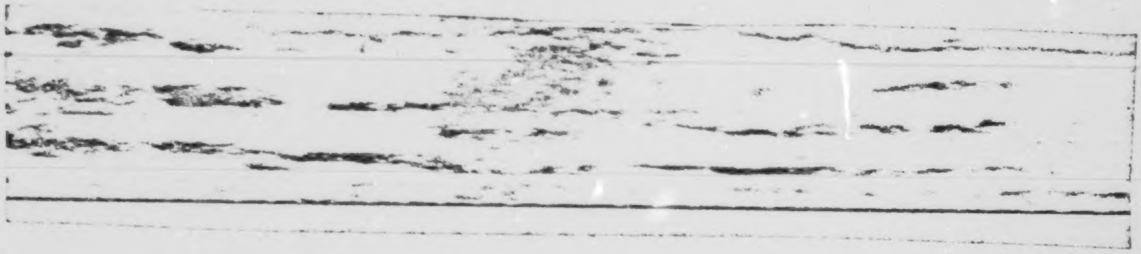
(29) Hell no I'm not kidding. What have you got



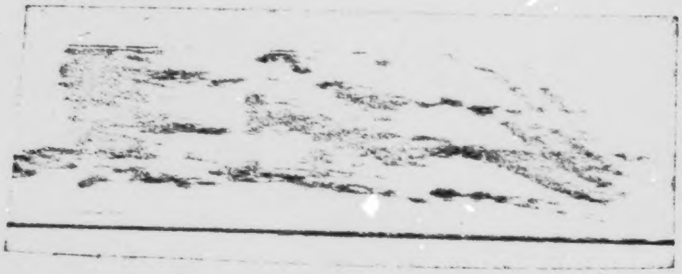
(35) coins from'r pocket, or anything.



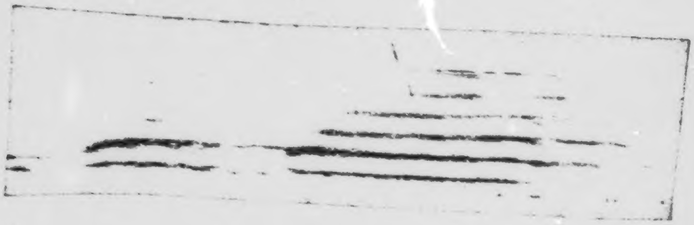
(36) Whatchou gonna be doin? (37) What am I gonna be doin?



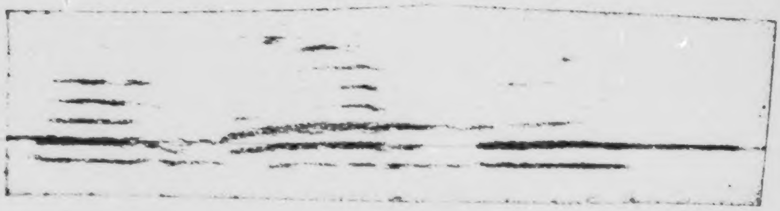
(42) She's not sposeta be able to offer me any thing?



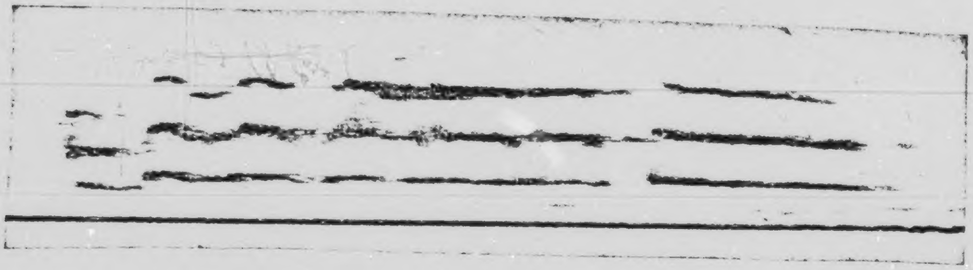
(67) I don't play that game.



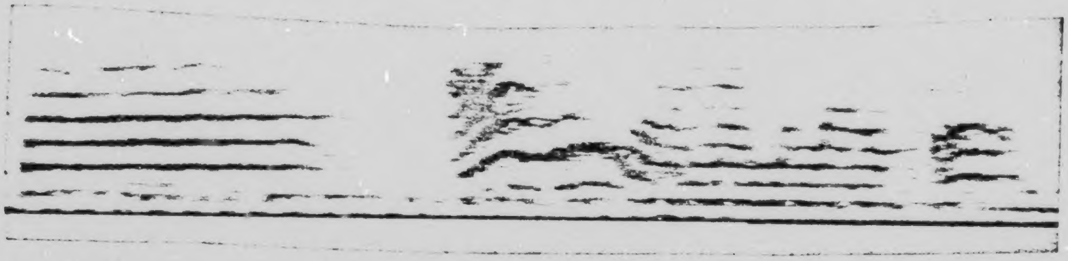
(69) get down



(71) some effort

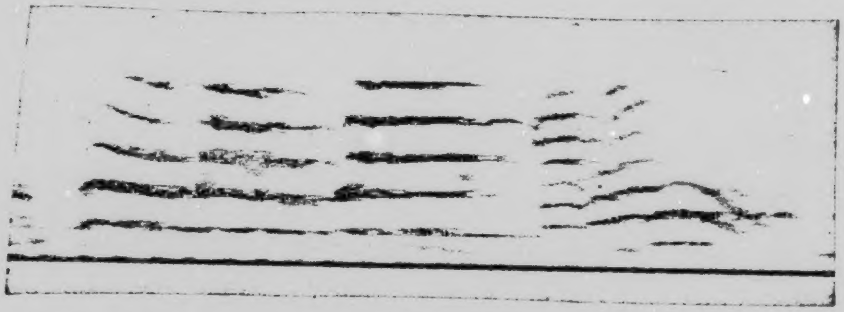


(80) and giving that broad all my change?



(81) Man.

I don't need no hammer like that.



(83) If she ain't got a job

(84) I don't need her.

pitch changes noted by Transcriber #3. An examination of several of the spectrograms will illustrate this correspondence.

For example, if we look at page 89, at Utterance (42), we find Transcribers #1 and #2 indicating a level final contour and Transcriber #3 indicating a fall of two pitch levels. The spectrogram shows a level, or even slightly rising, final fundamental frequency, thus corresponding with the transcriptions of #1 and #2.

Utterance (67) finds Transcribers #1 and #2 agreeing upon a falling contour of two to three pitch levels, and Transcriber #3 showing a fall of only one pitch level. The spectrogram shows a fall in fundamental frequency of very large magnitude.

In Utterance (69), Transcriber #1 shows a rising contour, #2 shows a level contour, and #3 a falling final contour. The spectrogram shows an Fo which is slightly rising on the second to last word, but is level for the final word.

In Utterance (71), Transcribers #1 and #2 show a rising contour, and Transcriber #3 shows a falling contour. The spectrogram shows an Fo which is slightly rising. An examination of the other spectrograms and accompanying three transcriptions will show that where the three transcribers do differ with regard to direction and extent of pitch change in their transcriptions, the transcriptions of #1 and #2 seem to correlate more closely with the more "objective" acoustic measurements of fundamental frequency change. These comparisons seem to indicate that the investigator, Transcriber #1, is basing her perception of pitch change upon a change of fundamental frequency which may be measured on a sound spectrograph; the two measures correspond very closely.

The limitations of the investigator's transcriptions may be delineated in this way. The particular pitch levels used in the transcription may not be replicated by other transcribers; the difference between a -31 final and a -32 final, for example, may not be perceived by other transcribers. Where the transcriptions indicate the general direction of pitch change, however, there is good evidence that other transcribers would perceive a similar change. As Pike has pointed out, it is the relationship between the pitches which is portrayed by intonation transcription, and not the absolute frequency levels (Pike, 1946). Different transcribers may adopt different strategies in delineating the relationships they perceive, basing their perceptions on different cues, and may use different absolute pitch levels in their transcriptions. The investigator has outlined the strategy she used in her transcriptions; provided some evidence that her transcriptions are based primarily on the cue of fundamental frequency change; and in the analysis of the data, will discuss only matters relating to the direction of pitch change noted, and not discuss the more minute distinctions of pitch level noted in the transcriptions. In the next chapter, tests of significance will be run only on the broader trends of pitch change which were perceived by the investigator, and not on the absolute pitch levels noted in the transcriptions.

CHAPTER SIX: RESULTS

The transcribed conversations, marked for pitch, appear in Appendix II and Appendix III.

Terminal intonation contours categorized by phrase types were extracted from the utterances of the seven Black adolescents, and the utterances of the eight White adolescents. These are presented in Table V . Note that in this table the terminal contour types are grouped according to general type: falling, rising and level. (The general format of classification is the same as that employed by Loman; this was done for purposes of comparison across studies.) There was a total of 798 phrases counted for the Black English-speaking group; and a total of 928 phrases categorized for the White English-speaking group. To facilitate the comparison of the two bodies of data, the figures in Table V are converted to percentage form in Table VI . The percentages are calculated for each column of figures, so that, for example, we can see that in the Black English corpus, 75.1% of the total phrases had falling final contours, while in the White English corpus, 79% of the phrases had falling final contours.

Similarly, terminal intonation contours categorized by phrase type were extracted from the utterances of Charles Waterford in the two situations: informal and formal. The terminal contours used in his informal Black English code and in his Formal Black English code are presented in Table VII. The classification system is the same for this table as for Table V. There was a total of 414 phrases counted in his informal Black English corpus, and 367 phrases categorized in his Formal Black English corpus. Again, these figures are converted to

TABLE V :

Terminal Intonation Contours Categorized
By Phrase Type: Black English Group and
White English Group

Final Type	Declarative		Fragment		Interjection		General Q		Special Q		Commands		TOTAL	
	BE	WE	BE	WE	BE	WE	BE	WE	BE	WE	BE	WE	BE	WE
Fall -43	4	0	5	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	12	0
-42	11	1	5	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	19	3
-32	108	135	71	196	11	18	1	2	6	4	3	5	200	360
-41	33	10	5	3	7	4	0	0	5	3	0	0	50	20
-31	193	219	54	76	45	15	0	0	20	30	5	10	317	350
-21	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1
Sum Fall	349	365	140	276	68	38	1	3	33	37	9	15	600	734
Rise -34	1	0	0	0	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	8	0
-24	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
-23	36	35	18	44	16	8	41	30	0	0	0	0	111	117
Sum Rise	38	35	18	44	21	8	45	30	0	0	0	0	120	117
Level -4	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
-3	6	3	11	6	2	4	17	3	0	0	0	0	36	16
-2	4	7	14	43	11	7	4	0	0	2	0	0	33	59
-1	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Sum Levl	10	10	25	49	17	13	24	3	0	2	0	0	76	77
TOTAL	397	410	183	369	106	59	70	36	33	39	9	15	798	928

TABLE VI:

Percentage of Terminal Intonation Contours

Categorized by Phrase Type:

Black English Group and White English Group

Final Type	Declarative		Fragment		Interjection		General Q		Special Q		Commands		TOTAL	
	BE	WE	BE	WE	BE	WE	BE	WE	BE	WE	BE	WE	BE	WE
Fall -43	1%	0	2.7%	0	.9%	0	0	0	3%	0	11.1%	0	1.5%	0
-42	2.7%	.2%	2.7%	.2%	1.8%	1.6%	0	0	3%	0	0	0	2.3%	.3%
-32	27.2%	32.9%	38.7%	53.7%	10.3%	30.5%	1.4%	5.5%	18%	10.2%	33.3%	33%	25%	38.7%
-41	8.3%	2.4%	2.7%	.8%	6.6%	6.7%	0	0	15%	7.6%	0	0	6.2%	2.1%
-31	48.6%	53.4%	29.5%	20.5%	42.4%	25.4%	0	0	60.6%	76.9%	55.5%	66%	39.7%	37.7%
-21	0	0	0	0	1.8%	0	0	2.7%	0	0	0	0	.2%	.1%
Sum Fall	87.9%	89%	76.5%	74.7%	64.1%	64.4%	1.4%	8.3%	100%	94.8%	100%	100%	75.1%	79%
Rise -34	.2%	0	0	0	4.7%	0	2.8%	0	0	0	0	0	1%	0
-24	.2%	0	0	0	0	0	2.8%	0	0	0	0	0	.3%	0
-23	9%	8.5%	9.8%	11.9%	15%	13.5%	58.5%	83.3%	0	0	0	0	13.9%	12.6%
Sum Rise	9.5%	8.5%	9.8%	11.9%	19.8%	13.5%	64.2%	83.3%	0	0	0	0	15.2%	12.6%
Level -4	0	0	0	0	1.8%	0	4.2%	0	0	0	0	0	.6%	0
-3	1.5%	.7%	6%	1.6%	1.8%	6.7%	24.2%	8.3%	0	0	0	0	4.5%	1.7%
-2	1%	1.7%	7.6%	11.6%	10.3%	11.8%	5.7%	0	0	5.1%	0	0	4.1%	6.3%
-1	0	0	0	0	1.8%	3.3%	0	0	0	0	0	0	.2%	.2%
Sum Level	2.5%	2.4%	13.6%	13.2%	16%	22%	34.2%	8.3%	0	5.1%	0	0	9.5%	8.2%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE VII:

Terminal Intonation Contours Categorized
by Phrase Type:
Waterford Informal and Formal Black English

In this table, BE refers to informal Black English, and SE refers to the Formal Black English code used by Waterford.

Final Type	Declarative		Fragment		Interjection		General Q		Special Q		Commands		TOTAL	
	BE	SE	BE	SE	BE	SE	BE	SE	BE	SE	BE	SE	BE	SE
Fall -43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
-42	7	0	4	5	6	0	0	0	6	0	1	0	24	5
-32	39	19	40	48	21	17	0	0	6	0	8	0	114	84
-41	29	16	1	9	4	1	0	0	5	0	1	0	40	26
-31	74	115	15	64	17	9	0	3	9	7	7	9	122	207
-21	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Sum Fall	150	150	60	126	48	28	0	3	26	7	17	9	301	323
Rise -34	2	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	7	0
-24	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	0
-23	23	1	12	4	4	1	24	23	0	0	0	0	63	29
Sum Rise	30	1	12	4	4	1	30	23	0	0	0	0	76	29
Level -4	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
-3	2	0	5	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	8	1
-2	2	0	9	5	4	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	17	10
-1	0	0	0	4	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	4
Sum Levl	4	0	14	9	16	5	3	1	0	0	0	0	37	15
TOTAL	184	151	86	139	68	34	33	27	26	7	17	9	414	367

TABLE VIII:

Percentage of Terminal Intonation Contours

Categorized by Phrase Type:

Waterford Informal and Formal Black English

Final Type	Declarative		Fragment		Interjection		General Q		Special Q		Commands		TOTAL	
	BE	SE	BE	SE	BE	SE	BE	SE	BE	SE	BE	SE	BE	SE
Fall -43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
-42	3.8%	0	4.6%	3.5%	8.8%	0	0	0	23%	0	5.8%	0	5.7%	1.3%
-32	21.1%	12.5%	46.5%	34.5%	30.8%	50%	0	0	23%	0	47%	0	27.5%	22.8%
-41	15.7%	10.5%	1.1%	6.4%	5.8%	2.9%	0	0	19.2%	0	5.8%	0	9.6%	7%
-31	40.2%	76.1%	17.4%	46%	25%	26.4%	0	11.1%	34.6%	100%	41.1%	100%	29.4%	56.4%
-21	.5%	0	0	0	0	2.9%	0	0	0	0	0	0	.2%	.2%
Sum Fall	81.5%	99.3%	69.7%	90.6%	70.5%	82.3%	0	11.1%	100%	100%	100%	100%	72.7%	88%
Rise -34	1%	0	0	0	0	0	15.1%	0	0	0	0	0	1.6%	0
-24	2.7%	0	0	0	0	0	3%	0	0	0	0	0	1.4%	0
-23	12.5%	.7%	13.9%	2.8%	5.8%	2.9%	72.7%	85.1%	0	0	0	0	15.2%	7.9%
Sum Rise	16.3%	.7%	13.9%	2.8%	5.8%	2.9%	90.9%	85.1%	0	0	0	0	18.3%	7.9%
Level -4	0	0	0	0	2.9%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.4%	0
-3	1%	0	5.8%	0	0	0	3%	3.7%	0	0	0	0	1.9%	.2%
-2	1%	0	10.4%	3.5%	5.8%	14.7%	6%	0	0	0	0	0	4.1%	2.7%
-1	0	0	0	2.8%	14.7%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.4%	1%
Sum Level	2.1%	0	16.2%	6.4%	23.5%	14.7%	9%	3.7%	0	0	0	0	8.9%	4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

percentage form in Table VIII to facilitate the comparison of the two corpora.

A non-parametric test of significance, the chi square, was employed to determine the significance of the difference between the two groups in Table V, and between the two corpora of data in Table VII. As explained on page 92, these tests were used only to determine the significance of the difference between the respective groups with regard to direction of pitch change, and were not used to test more minute distinctions of pitch level. The same procedure was used in applying the test to the data in both tables. Chi squares were found for each column in the table. So, for example, in Table V, in the far right column, the number of falling contours was compared with the number of non-falling contours used by each group:

	falling	non-falling	
WE	734	194	928
BE	600	198	798
	1334	392	1726

Chi square for this table is not significant at $\alpha = .05$. This procedure was followed for each category in each column where the number of entries in each cell was greater than five. For some cells, there were no entries at all, so that statistical tests of significance could not apply. However, such instances may be found worth consideration as well, as being of linguistic importance; the number of entries in Table IX is small, for example, but is nevertheless of some linguistic importance.

I. First, in comparing the Black English and White English groups, by examining Table V it may be seen that the Black English-speaking group used more different types of final contours for almost every phrase category than did the White English group. In particular, the Black English group appears to use more finals employing the high pitch 4 range (-43, -42, -41, -34, -24, -4). A chi square measure finds the Black English group using significantly more finals with pitch 4 than the White English group:

	finals with pitch 4	without pitch 4	
WE	23	905	928
BE	95	703	798
	118	1608	1726

The chi square of 61.35 is significant at $\alpha \leq .0001$.

There is no significant difference between the two groups in their overall proportionate usage of rising finals, falling finals or level finals. The trend, which was not found to be significant as measured by the chi square statistic, is for the White English group to use more falling finals proportionately (see p. 102), and for the Black English group to use proportionately more rising and level finals;

	rise	non-rise	
WE	117	811	928
BE	122	676	798
	239	1487	1726

	level	non-lev	
WE	77	851	928
BE	76	722	798
	153	1573	1726

If we examine the final contours used in general questions (see p. 45), we find the two groups differing in this way:

	Falling	rising	Level	
WE	3	30	3	36
BE	1	45	24	70
	4	75	27	106

The BE group uses relatively more level final contours for general questions (significant at $\alpha \leq .01$), while the White English group uses relatively more rising contours (a non-significant trend).

In the other phrase types categorized, there was no significant difference between the two groups in their proportionate usage of rising, falling, or level finals.

The suggestion (p. 45) that Black English is characterized by more -32 finals than White English cannot be verified by these results because (a) these transcriptions cannot be considered reliable enough to differentiate -31 and -32 finals consistently, and (b) the trends which are observed are in the opposite direction -- the WE group seems to use overwhelmingly more -32 finals than the BE group.

With regard to the types of phrases which occur in the data, it is interesting to note that the two groups differ as well. The White English group uses significantly more fragments than the Black English group:

	Fragments	Non-Frags	
WE	369	559	928
BE	183	615	798
	552	1174	1726

$x^2 = 55.1$

The Black English group uses more interjections and more general questions:

	Interj.	Non-Int.	
WE	59	869	928
BE	106	692	798
	165	1561	1726

	Gen. Q.	Non- GQ	
WE	36	882	928
BE	70	728	798
	106	1610	1726

II. In examining the Waterford data in Tables VII and VIII, we find the same trends as we found in Tables V and VI, in differentiating the BE and SE codes; however, in Waterford's case, those trends are more significant statistically.

In his informal Black English code, the speaker uses a much wider variety of final pitch contours than he does in his Formal SE code. In particular, he uses more finals employing pitch 4 in his Black English code (just as the Black English group in Table V did):

	With Pitch 4	Without 4	
SE	31	336	367
BE	79	335	414
	110	671	781

$x^2 = 19.07$

In his Formal SE code, the speaker uses significantly more falling final pitch contours than he does in his informal BE code; this is the same trend as that noted between the WE and BE groups, but more pronounced here:

	Falling	Non-Fall	
SE	323	44	367
BE	301	113	414
	624	157	781

$x^2 = 27.43$

The trend to use falling contours in the SE code is especially marked in the phrase categories "Declarative Sentence" and "Fragment."

Declarative S:

	Fall	Non-F	
SE	150	1	151
BE	150	34	184
	300	35	335

Fragment:

	Fall	Non-F	
SE	126	13	139
BE	60	26	86
	186	39	225

In his informal Black English code, the speaker uses relatively more rising final contours and level final contours than he does in his formal SE code. Again, this is the same trend as that observed between the WE and BE groups, but again, the trend is more pronounced between the codes produced by Waterford, in that it is statistically significant:

Waterford data (cont.):

	Rising	Non-Rise	
SE	29	338	367
BE	76	338	414
	105	676	781

	Level	Non-Level	
SE	15	352	367
BE	37	377	414
	52	729	781

In his BE code, Waterford uses significantly more rising finals ($x^2 = 19.18$) and more level finals ($x^2 = 8.16$).

Again, we find that this trend is especially marked in the phrase categories "Declarative Sentence" and "Fragment" in the Waterford data:

Decl. Sent:

	Rise	Non-Rise	
SE	1	150	151
BE	30	154	184
	31	304	335

	Level	Non-Level	
SE	0	151	151
BE	4	180	184
	4	331	335

Fragment:

	Rise	Non-Rise	
SE	4	135	139
BE	12	74	86
	16	209	225

	Level	Non-Level	
SE	9	130	139
BE	14	72	86
	23	202	225

In the phrase categories just mentioned, the observed trends cannot be evaluated statistically (due to the small numbers in some of the cells), yet they can be observed to exist in the figures included above. In the other phrase categories measured, the two codes (BE and SE) do not appear to differ greatly with regard to direction of final pitch change.

The trend which appears in the Waterford data seems to support the suggestion (p. 45) that more -31 contours occur in the more "standard" code, Formal Black English; more -32 finals occur in the informal BE code. However, again, these trends cannot be considered conclusive for this study for the reasons cited on page 104. It should be noted that the trend in the Waterford data, and the trend in the adolescents' data, are conflicting on this measure.

Waterford uses fragments much more often in his Formal SE code than in his informal Black English code, just as the White English group used more fragments than the Black English group:

	Fragments	Non-fragments	
SE	139	228	367
BE	86	328	414
	225	556	781

$x^2 = 26.92$

Waterford uses in his informal Black English code almost twice as many interjections proportionately as he does in his SE code, and three times as many special questions:

	Interj.	Non-Int.	
SE	34	333	367
BE	68	346	414
	102	679	781

	Spec.Q	Non-Sp. Q	
SE	7	360	367
BE	26	388	414
	33	748	781

Both these trends are significant at $\alpha \leq .01$ when measured by the chi square.

III. Some other general observations may be made about the results of this study, which, while not necessarily susceptible of statistical measurement, may nevertheless be considered linguistically important.

In all of the Black English corpus (including Waterford's BE utterances) there was a very high occurrence of the falsetto register; there was virtually no use of falsetto in the WE corpus, and very little use of falsetto in Waterford's formal SE code. Falsetto in the BE code occurred in two forms: an entire utterance could occur in falsetto (eg. Session Two, line 31), or an alternation between a falsetto register on stressed syllables and a normal register on unstressed syllables (eg. Session Two, line 250) could occur.

	BE	WE	SE
Falsetto (F)	75	0	0
Alternating Fal.	80	1	1

Both males and females in the Black English group used falsetto in their speech. The falsetto occurred whenever a strong point was being made in the conversation, whenever the speaker was attempting to demonstrate strong emotional support for what he was saying. It also occurred from time to time when a passer-by was greeted.

In all of the Black English corpus, within phrases, a high level pitch, usually transcribed as level -3 or level -4, was sometimes used. This high level pitch often occurred in a falsetto register. It appeared only in the BE corpus, and never in the WE corpus. Examples may be found in Session Two, lines 62-71. At times the pitch appeared to be so level as to be almost chanted on a single note; whole phrases were sometimes delivered in this "monotone" mode.

An extremely interesting finding is illustrated in Table IX. In the corpus of Black English, there were 13 utterances which occurred in which the "if-clause" of a conditional sentence appeared without the "if". Instead, the dependent clause appeared to be marked by intonation alone, by either a rising or level terminal contour, or by a -32 final contour. This phenomenon did not occur in the White English corpus.

APPENDIX IX: THE USE OF INTONATION TO MARK IF-CLAUSES WITHOUT "IF" IN BLACK ENGLISH

SESSION ONE

(11) P$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$ople don't w$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$nt to do it, th$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$n no sense gettin m$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$d ab$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$ut $\overset{2}{\text{i}}$t.

(50) Y$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$u $\overset{3}{\text{a}}$bl$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$ to d$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{i}}$t, just d$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{i}}$t.

(155) H$\overset{31}{\text{e}}$y, t$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$lk to h$\overset{3}{\text{i}}$m, y$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$u talk to h$\overset{31}{\text{i}}$m.

(204) H$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$ c$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$n walk out, sh$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$ c$\overset{1}{\text{a}}$n walk o$\overset{1}{\text{u}}$t.

(384) Sh$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$ can do me some g$\overset{4}{\text{o}}$od, th$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$t's c$\overset{41}{\text{o}}$ol.

(463) S$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$mebody offered y$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$u $\overset{2}{\text{o}}$ne, would you t$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$ke $\overset{3}{\text{i}}$t?

SESSION TWO

(88-9) Sh$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$ wanted pr$\overset{3F}{\text{o}}$of, $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ could g$\overset{3}{\text{i}}$ve her pr$\overset{3F}{\text{o}}$of.

(237-9) A$\overset{2}{\text{n}}$d she find out about you h$\overset{3}{\text{i}}$tt$\overset{2}{\text{i}}$n a lick over th$\overset{32}{\text{e}}$re, your
$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$ss's g$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$nna be layin six feet in some d$\overset{41}{\text{i}}$rt.

(400-1) Sh$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$in't got s$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$nse en$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$ugh to keep her $\overset{3}{\text{o}}$ffspr$\overset{2}{\text{i}}$ng clean,
how in the hell's she gonna keep hers$\overset{4F}{\text{e}}$lf cle$\overset{1}{\text{a}}$n?

(413-4) H$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$r m$\overset{4F}{\text{a}}$n's comin over, h$\overset{2F}{\text{e}}$r mess's supposed to be tog$\overset{4F}{\text{e}}$th$\overset{1F}{\text{e}}$r.

(472-5) Sh$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$, sh$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$ w$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$nt to argue and all that, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$: "Y$\overset{23}{\text{e}}$ah, $\overset{2}{\text{u}}$hh$\overset{3}{\text{u}}$h, y$\overset{23}{\text{e}}$ah."

SESSION THREE

(68) Th$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$y can't be clean like me, f$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$rg$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$t '$\overset{1}{\text{e}}$m.

(74) Sh$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$ sm$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$ll 'em wh$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$n th$\overset{32}{\text{e}}$y're c$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$m$\overset{2}{\text{i}}$n, sh$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$ g$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$nna t$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$ll '$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$m, and
emb$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$rr$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ss 'em t$\overset{31}{\text{o}}$o.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

When the intonation of Black English (BE) is compared with the intonation of either vernacular White English (WE), or with that of formal Black English (SE), it *appears to have certain distinctive* characteristics.

In the last chapter, we saw that in both comparisons (BE-WE and BE-SE), the same general trends appeared to emerge. It is interesting to note that in the comparison of the intonation patterns used in Waterford's BE and SE codes, those trends were more significant when measured by a chi square statistic, than they were in the data obtained from the adolescents. That is, it would appear that Waterford makes a larger contrast between his two speech varieties as he "code-switches". It may be that Waterford, as he attempts to be very correct in his formal speech variety, in talking to University professors, comes closer to the "ideal" Standard English intonation than do the White adolescents in their vernacular speech.

In any case, certain distinctions are consistently made in this study -- whether we are looking at the contrast between adolescents speaking BE and adolescents speaking WE, or whether we are looking at the contrast between the BE and SE codes made by a "code-switcher". In this discussion, reference will be made to the predicted trends on page 45 of this document, and to some of the findings of Loman reported on page 26. of this paper.

The first suggestion on page 45 is supported by the results of this study; we see that in the BE intonation there does seem to be a wider range of pitch used, which extends more into the higher pitches.

At the same time, we have seen that there appears to be a much greater use of the falsetto register in Black English. The WE and SE utterances recorded appear to stay within a smaller range centered around a lower pitch. The use of falsetto, and also of the very level high pitch ("almost sung"), in the Black English corpus, seems to have been associated with the speaker's making a dramatic effect in his argument. It usually occurred when the speaker was making his point by building up suspense or by establishing the strength of his own feelings about the issue. The ability to use this particular technique for dramatic effect appeared to help establish the speaker's status as a performer, and was usually applauded appreciatively by the audience.

The second suggestion on page 45 is also supported, as the BE speakers in this study seemed in general to use more level and rising final contours, while WE and SE phrases appear to be characterized by more falling final contours. (As we have observed, this contrast is especially pronounced in the Waterford data.) The level and rising patterns in Black English appear to be used in a higher pitch than is characteristic of the other two codes. Given the "game" interaction which produced the Black English utterances in this study, the higher occurrence of level and rising finals in BE should not be surprising. As Pike (1946) has pointed out, rising contours may carry with them a feeling of "expectation of response" or of "implications about others"; while level contours carry a meaning of "strong implication" and also of strength of feeling. Such final contours are entirely appropriate to the game we have described, which was interaction-centered and processoriented. In the White English and formal Black English situations, on the other hand, the conversations were much more topic-oriented. For such situations, a falling final contour is more appropriate to the statement of facts and to observations.

The third suggestion on page 45 -- that speakers of BE use more falling contours on general questions than speakers of Standard English -- was not supported in the final study, in spite of the strong indications of such a trend in both the pilot study and in Loman's study. Rather, in the final study, the Black English speakers appeared to use more level final contours in general. One can only speculate that the difference may be traceable to the difference in the speaking situations. Whe[illegible], the speaking situation seems to have been somewhat formal, and perhaps threatening, Black English speakers appeared to use a falling contour in asking general questions -- an intonation pattern usually associated with the attitude of demanding a response. On the other hand, in the final study, the speaking situation was not formal or threatening, and the speakers were more at ease than they were in either the pilot study or in Loman's study. In this situation, in the final study, the BE speakers did not use the expected falling final contours.

The usage of intonation alone to mark the dependent clause of a conditional sentence has not been reported as characteristic of Black English to date. Its occurrence in these data is unmistakeable, however. At least one implication of this phenomenon relates to language testing in the Black community. It has been suggested, for example, (Deutsch et al 1968) that a restricted code may **not** use logical conjunctions which do occur in an elaborated code. It has been suggested that if speakers of a restricted code do not use such conjunctions, their language, and probably their logical processes are somehow deficient. So, for example, some might claim that because a child did not use the conjunction "if" to mark the dependent clause in a conditional sentence, he has no way of differentiating dependent and independent clause. The finding just mentioned, of the use of intonation rather than a lexical item to mark the dependent clause of a conditional sentence, would indicate that perhaps language testing is itself deficient when it does not take suprasegmental features into consideration.

The higher proportion of fragments in the WE and SE corpora may have resulted partly because of the system of classification adopted in this investigation. A phrase was considered to be a segment of speech occurring between two pauses. In the White English and Standard English samples, the speakers tended to use long, drawn-out sentences with many pauses, qualifiers and interjections like "you know". Consequently, although their sentences were grammatically complete sentences, their mode of production, with many pauses, meant that their utterances were classified as fragments in many cases. On the other hand, the Black English speakers did not use this mode of production; they used shorter sentences with more dramatic punch, consistent with the speaking situation they were involved in.

The higher incidence of interjections in both Black English samples appears to be a function of the "call-and-response" pattern of interaction, which demanded utterances like calls for attention like "Hey man" or "Lookee here"; and of responses like "Right" or "Uh huh".

Most of the intonational differences which have been isolated between the Black English corpus and the other two corpora, seem to be directly traceable to the differences in the speech events which the speakers were participating in. In the Black speaking situation, the speakers were more in a "performer" role, and used many intonational devices for dramatic effect. In addition, in the Black speaking situation, there was a strong influence by the "game" and competitive play among persons, that was occurring during the conversation. The different social rules called for different paralinguistic features. So, for example, it is suggested that there was a higher incidence of level and rising final pitch contours for the BE group. Most of the intonational differences that have emerged in this study may be found to be directly traceable to the differential nature of the speech event in the Black street community, and to the resulting differences in attitude brought to that event by the participants. The use of intonation to mark the dependent clause in a conditional sentence is the only feature which cannot be traced directly to situational elements in the Black speech event.

Critique of Method and Suggestions for Future Research

In this study, the priority of obtaining good data in the sociolinguistic sense, meant that the data could not be analyzed acoustically due to the poor quality of the recordings. In future research, perhaps a better balance could be obtained between the conflicting priorities of obtaining good data, and analyzing that data. Perhaps recordings could be made in rooms with less background noise and more optimal mike-to-mouth distances, so that more high-quality recordings could be obtained. If this were done, then acoustical analyses could be made of a segment of talk from a Black English group and a White English group. Such analyses could establish instrumental measures of such phenomena as range of variation of fundamental frequency and of amplitude.

In studying intonation in Black English, it is a good idea to use control groups for comparison instead of relying upon "rules" of intonation as recorded by linguists for comparison. We have seen that white speakers did not appear to conform to the "rules" of Standard English intonation when social variables such as peer group and formality of situation were similar to those in the Black group. In order to be able to say anything conclusive about intonation in Black English, it is important to have an understanding of what intonation in other dialects is like -- an understanding which is based upon live control groups, rather than upon a theoretical system of rules.

In future research, perhaps the social variables could be more similar than in this study; perhaps recordings could be made of a highly involved, excited White rap session or White "gaming" session, if one could be found. In such a situation, it might well be, for example, that the White group would use a wider pitch range. (However, it should be emphasized that one of the central suggestions of this study bears upon exactly this point -- that intonational differences exist because of the relative frequency of certain speech events in the different communities; the relative frequency of such "gaming" sessions in the Black community and the relative scarcity of them in the White community may be seen as directly related to the frequency of wide pitch range in the Black dialect.) An attempt could be made to control the situational variables in other ways as well; the topics of discussion could be kept more similar. Perhaps the same individual could lead the discussions in both groups. Similarly, perhaps the number of subjects could have been more equivalent.

In future research of this kind, in the analysis of the data once it has been obtained, it should be suggested that a different classification system for phrase types might be used. In this study, the classification system used was based upon that used in Loman's study. One of the problems with the system related to the distinction between declarative sentences and fragments. There were several types of phrases which were categorized as fragments (such as the dependent clause of a conditional sentence) which should perhaps have been classified otherwise. A better classification system might have been able to bring out intonational distinctions between phrase types which the Loman system did not. The system should be more systematically developed with regard to phrase type and expected intonation contour before it is applied to the data.

CHAPTER EIGHT: SUMMARY

The purpose of this investigation was to determine and describe the intonation patterns characteristic of Black English, and to compare those patterns with the intonation patterns occurring in White English and in Formal Black English. Tape recordings were made of a group of Black adolescents in an informal discussion, and of a group of White adolescents in an informal discussion. In addition, an interview with an adult Black male was tape recorded.

The recorded speech corpuses were then transcribed for intonation, and the transcriptions checked for reliability by two additional phoneticians. Spectrograms of utterances upon which disagreement among transcribers occurred were also analyzed. The data for terminal intonational contours were grouped according to phrase types, with chi square tests employed between and among groups.

The following findings relative to intonation patterning were presented and discussed:

(1) Black English was characterized by a wider pitch range, which extended into the higher pitch levels than did White English and Formal Black English.

(2) Black English appeared to utilize a falsetto register to a much greater extent than did White English or Formal Black English.

(3) In general, Black English speakers seemed to use more rising and level final contours, while White English and Formal Black English speakers seemed to use more falling final contours.

(4) In the Black English corpus, several utterances were recorded in which intonation alone was used to serve the grammatical function of marking the dependent clause of a conditional sentence, without concomitant use of the lexical item "if."

(5) The preliminary indication that Black English would be characterized by fewer rising terminals for general questions, was not borne out in this study; there was no significant difference among the three speech varieties in this regard.

The majority of the intonational characteristics found in the Black English corpus can be traced directly to systematic differences between Black street culture and White "mainstream" culture, with regard to the function of the speech event within the two speech communities, rather than to any systematic differences in phonology *per se*. Intonational patterns characteristic of Black English can be accounted for in large part as resulting from different "social rules" for speech within Black street culture; speech events which occur in that culture seem to call for specialized use of intonation patterns which themselves are entirely consistent with Standard English rules for intonation.

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APPENDIX I:

A Glossary of Black English Expressions Used in Sessions One, Two and Three

A Glossary of Black English Expressions Used in Sessions One, Two and Three

bad -- good, stylish, admirable

bag -- one's orientation to life, or framework of operation

check it out -- investigate the issue and get more information to validate your argument

dude -- a male

duff -- to leave, as to leave home

flashin' -- talking nonsense, as part of a temporary mental disorientation; also, insulting or "sounding on" someone

funky -- dirty, sweaty, disagreeable

gamin' -- using or manipulating someone; also, playing around and not being serious

get down -- get down to business, get serious

git-go -- the beginning

hammer -- woman, usually lower-class

hank -- low-class woman

hung up -- emotionally dependent

hustle -- make money, especially on the street

jo' -- probably joking, or joshing

keep on steppin' -- to leave, go your own way

lady -- main woman

Laurelhurst -- a white upper middle-class suburb in Seattle

the Man -- the white man, or the government, or authority

nylon socks -- socks which are in style among pimps in Seattle; also referred to as "pimp socks" in some areas pay day -- in this context, the expression refers to the assumption that when payday comes, the woman is expected to hand her whole check over to her man

pimpin' -- in general, using someone without allowing them to use you; being self-sufficient and getting others to depend on you; being in a power position

punk -- a homosexual

read her little game -- "pimped"; that is, used or manipulated someone for her own benefit

ride -- a car

to run down -- to explain; also, to talk persuasively as part of your routine

to school -- to teach

serious business -- seriously

to have one's shit together -- to be well-adjusted; to know oneself and others well enough to deal with anything life may throw at you

shit don't stink that well -- apparently a reference to an Army expression: "He thinks he's so good his shit don't stink."

your shit's gonna be duffed good -- you're going to get beaten; your game will be over for good

to strut -- to walk proudly, or in a style copied from the pimps

to' -- apparently, "toil"

vines -- clothes

wheels -- a car; stylish automobile

APPENDIX II:

Four Conversations Recorded in a Black Community

The names of the participants have been changed in the scripts which follow, in order to protect their privacy.

SESSION ONE -- BLACK ENGLISH

The following conversation occurred in a discussion led by a Planned Parenthood representative, Eve Wilson, in a drop-in center in a predominantly Black area of Seattle. The participants are Eve Wilson, Bert, Miles, Steve, Nina, Linda, and Charles Waterford.

* * * * * * * * * *

eve But if a woman belongs to a man, and she says that she doesn't want to have intercourse that night, she should be able to say no. Just like if he doesn't feel like having intercourse that night, he can say no.

B (1) $\overset{2}{\text{Yeah}}$.

(2) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{could}}$ go for $\overset{3}{\text{that}}$.

(3) $\overset{2}{\text{What}}$, what if the $\overset{3}{\text{man}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{want}}$ to get up an' $\overset{3\,1}{\text{leave}}$?

eve What about it?

B (4) $\overset{2}{\text{Do}}$ you $\overset{3}{\text{think}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{he}}$ should, uh, think, uh that uh she should tell him $\overset{3}{\text{no}}$?

(5) $\overset{2}{\text{Which}}$ is, she'd be $\overset{3\,2}{\text{crazy}}$ if she $\overset{3\,2}{\text{did}}$.

(6) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{would}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{think}}$. (laughter)

(7) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$, uh, I'm pretty $\overset{3}{\text{sure}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{she}}$ gonna have a $\overset{3\,2}{\text{idea}}$ what I'm, what I'm $\overset{3\,1}{\text{duffin}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{for}}$.

(8) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{doubt}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{if}}$ all that'd be $\overset{3\,1}{\text{necessary}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{though}}$.

(9) $\overset{2}{\text{Do}}$ you think, uh she should, uh, she could make it $\overset{3}{\text{through}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{that}}$?

(comments)

N (10) $\overset{2}{\text{Should}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{respect}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{each}}$ other's $\overset{3\,1}{\text{needs}}$.

(11) $\overset{2}{\text{People}}$ don't $\overset{3}{\text{want}}$ to do it, $\overset{2}{\text{then}}$ no sense gettin $\overset{3}{\text{mad}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{about}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$.

eve Well, how about the guy's needs?

N (12) C$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$mpr$\overset{1}{\text{o}}$m$\overset{1}{\text{i}}$se. (laughter)

eve Does a man have more needs than a woman? Does a woman have more needs than a man?

N (13) Pr$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$bably $\overset{3}{\text{e}}$qu$\overset{1}{\text{a}}$l.

B (14) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ couldn't s$\overset{32}{\text{a}}$y, because I'm n$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$t ...

eve Do you think it's possible for a woman to get as exsex-, er, uh, to become as sexually excited as a man?

B (15) Y$\overset{31}{\text{e}}$ah.

(16) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ think m$\overset{31}{\text{o}}$re. (comments)

eve Well, say yeah, then say no, really isn't much of an answer. Why? How come?

N (17) N$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$thin to get exc$\overset{3}{\text{i}}$t$\overset{1}{\text{e}}$d ove$\overset{1}{\text{r}}$.

(18) S$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$x is s$\overset{42}{\text{e}}$x.

(19) d$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$n't ne$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$d t$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$ get all overly exc$\overset{3}{\text{i}}$t$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$d over i$\overset{2}{\text{t}}$.

eve You mean to say, that there's two people who are petting, wherever it may take place. Hm? Two people, kissing and petting and fondling and feeling and all that type of thing. Do you feel that the woman will, may, might, can, is she able to, get as excited as a male?

L (20) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$f she really w$\overset{4}{\text{a}}$nts t$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$, you kn$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$w.

(21) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$f she doesn't w$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$nt t$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$, she really doesn't h$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$ve t$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$.

(22) J$\overset{2}{\text{u}}$st all depends on who you $\overset{3}{\text{a}}$re $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$nd how you f$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$el $\overset{1}{\text{a}}$bout i$\overset{1}{\text{t}}$.

B (23) N$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$w, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ th$\overset{2}{\text{i}}$nk that the w$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$m$\overset{1}{\text{a}}$n could get more excit$\overset{1}{\text{e}}$d. (comments)

(24) N$\overset{42}{\text{o}}$, n$\overset{42}{\text{o}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ me$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$n, uh, I mean $\overset{2}{\text{u}}$h.

(25) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ j$\overset{2}{\text{u}}$st think that a man could, could uh, y$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$u kn$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$w, exc$\overset{3}{\text{i}}$te th$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$ woman m$\overset{31}{\text{o}}$re.

       2   2
B (26) you know?

eve You feel that a man can stimulate a woman to the point where she's more excited than he is.

       31
B (27) Yeah.

       2F   3F   4F2F 4F1N
N (28) A woman can do that to a dude too.   (comments)

       2
B (29) No.

       2   3   2   32   32 31
  (30) There's not that much to stimulate a dude with.

       3   2   31
  (31) This is what I'm sayin.   (comments)

       3   2   3
  (32) You know what I'm sayin.

       3   2   3   2
  (33) I'm not, you know,

       3 2   3 2
  (34) I know what I'm sayin.

       3   2   3   2   3 1
  (35) You just don't understand what I'm sayin.

       2   3 1   1
  (36) You're not ready for it.

eve What's right for it? When is a person right for sex?

       3 2   4 1 1
B (37) I don't understand.

eve When is a person right for sex?

       2   3   3
B (38) When is a person right for sex?

eve Mmhm.

       42 42 4 2
B (39) Oh, no, I wasn't,

       3 2   32   2
  (40) I didn't say it like that, you know,

       3 2   3   2   3   1
  (41) I was just sayin she wasn't ready for my, my answer I was givin
       1
       you.

eve I hear you though.

       3 2   2
B (42) I really, uh,

        2 3 2   31   1
  (43) whenever, uh, nature takes its place, you know.

       2   3 2   2
  (44) That's all I could say,

B (45) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

eve Yeah, but you know, you figure as far as nature's concerned, or sex is concerned, you can relieve sexual tension in the bathroom. You know, simply by masturbating. That's about all that comes down to. Whereas, if you're going to have intercourse, with somebody, you know, it's a whole different bag. A whole different thing. That's why I ask. When do you think a person is ready to have sex? Or when, what time during their life, or what have you?

B (46) $\overset{2}{\text{Any}}$ time he think he's $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{ready}}$,

(47) $\overset{2}{\text{that's}}$ all $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{say}}$. (soft comments)

(48) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ know, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{used}}$ to play in $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{houses}}$ and $\overset{23}{\text{things}}$. (comments)

(49) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ think it $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{matters}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{know}}$.

(50) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{able}}$ to $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$, just $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it}}$.

eve Yeah, but that's just the problem. People just do it. That's all they do, you know, the penis goes in the vagina and comes out two minutes later; she's a mess, she has to wash up; he's a mess, he washes up, and that's all there is to it.

B (51) $\overset{2}{\text{Oh}}$, is, is that all you $\overset{3}{\text{think}}$ there is to $\overset{3}{\text{it}}$?

eve No, that's not all I personally think there is to it, but I mean,

B (52) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{either}}$. (laughter)

eve If you're a person that just does it because he's ready to do it, I mean, you know, to say he's ready to do it is about what it amounts to, he does it. Now, if you say a person's ready to have intercourse, or feels that they want to have a sexual, a sexual relationship, you know, to relate to somebody sexually, to be able to relate to somebody in a very intimate manner.

B (53) $\overset{2}{\text{See}}$, what, uh, what $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{said}}$,

(54) $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$, uh, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ don't go for nobody just $\overset{3\,2}{\text{doin}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$

(55) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ it, $\overset{2}{\text{it's}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{done}}$.

eve (comments)

B (56) $\overset{2}{\text{Never}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{knew}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{that}}$. (laughs)

eve (comments)

B (57) $\overset{4}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{think}}$, $\overset{4}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, (noise)'s $\overset{3\;\;2}{\text{always}}$ more to $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$.

(58) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ know, there's always, you know, more to that for $\overset{32}{\text{me}}$, you $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

eve How does a young woman say no to a young man? Or I should say, how does a male, a female say no to a male?

N (59) $\overset{4F\,3F}{\text{"No."}}$

B (60) $\overset{2N}{\text{How}}$ does a $\overset{3\,2}{\text{female}}$ say no to a $\overset{3}{\text{male}}$?

eve Without gettin beaten. (comments)

N (61) $\overset{2}{\text{It}}$ ain't $\overset{3}{\text{no}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{way}}$.

B (62) $\overset{2\;\;3}{\text{Without}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{gettin}}$ $\overset{3\;\;1}{\text{beaten}}$! (laughs) (background noise, comments)

(63) $\overset{4}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{surprised}}$ you $\overset{3\;\;1}{\text{married}}$.

(64) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{3\;\;1}{\text{married}}$.

eve Hm?

B (65) $\overset{2}{\text{You're}}$ $\overset{3\;\;1}{\text{married}}$,

(66) $\overset{2}{\text{aren't}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$? (background noise, comments)

N (67) $\overset{4}{\text{There}}$ $\overset{4}{\text{are}}$?

eve Yes, there is. But you get sick and tired of ... people, you know, using people. Why can't people just relate to people cause they like them? I mean, is it out ...

B (68) $\overset{2}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{my}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{thing}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

eve Yeah. Is it out of fashion? It's it's, is it, you know, corny to like somebody and be honest about it?

B (69) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don}}$'t think $\overset{2}{\text{so}}$. (comments)

eve Well, why is it that the girl always has to be in love with the dude, she spreads her legs, and he gets what he wants, he gets his piece.

B (70) $\overset{2}{\text{It}}$'s not always $\overset{4}{\text{like}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{that}}$.

eve It ma, majority of the time it is.

B (71) $\overset{2}{\text{Well}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{that}}$'s ...

eve The majority, you got too many pregnant girls running around here that were run down, "Hey baby, you know I love you. Hey, come on and be mine." You know. "Like, if you wanta be mine, you know uh, whassabout givin me some?" And she says you know, "Well uh, I'm not ready" or "I don't want to" or somethin like that, he say, "Aw corny! You know, there's nothin to it. You're not a baby any more."

M (72) $\overset{2}{\text{Say}}$, "$\overset{3}{\text{La}}\overset{2}{\text{ter}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{on}}$." (laughter, comments)

(73) $\overset{4}{\text{I'd}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{say}}$ later $\overset{31}{\text{on}}$.

eve You never ran down a line.

M (74) $\overset{2}{\text{M}}\text{mh}\overset{3}{\text{m}}$.

(75) $\overset{2}{\text{Ran}}$ down a whole $\overset{3F}{\text{lo}}\overset{2N}{\text{tta}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{lines}}$.

(76) $\overset{2}{\text{Some}}$thin like $\overset{32}{\text{that}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$'d $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ say later $\overset{32}{\text{on}}$, for $\overset{32}{\text{you}}$, you $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

eve Well, what else you got to say 'fore I go? Nothin else to say. (laughter) No name-calling or whatnot. How bout this payday business?

B (77) $\overset{3}{\text{Pay}}\overset{2}{\text{day}}$.

eve Mmhm.

B (78) ... $\overset{2}{\text{Mother}}$'s $\overset{3}{\text{Day}}$?

eve Mother's Day, payday when Mother's Day isn't there.

        3 2   3 1 1
M (79) Payday's supposed to be every day.

eve For whom?

        2 31
M (80) For me.   (laughter)

eve Well what about me?

        2   31
M (81) What about you?

eve Well, what about me? When does my payday come?

        2   3   2   3 1
M (82) Whenever you gets the money.   (laughter)

eve Well, who do I get my money from?

       2   31
M (83) I don't know.

        3   2   31
  (84) 'At's up to you.

eve If I'm you're old lady, do I get my money from you?

        3 1
M (85) No no.

        23
M (86) What?

        3   4F 1N
M (87) Hell no.

          2   3   3
M (88) Who am I supposed to be?

       3 2   4F   2N   4F 2N 24F
M (89) Okay, you might get a little bit.

eve Oh, I might get a little bit.

        32   3   2
M (90) Yeah, you know,

        2   3   2   32   3   2   3 1
  (91) see, if you was mine (inaudible) up to you to make some money.

eve Oh, really? Why?

        42
M (92) Why?

eve Why?

M (93) $\overset{2}{\text{To}}$ fill $\overset{4}{\text{my}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{mother}}$-fuckin $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{pockets}}$.

eve Well, listen, baby, you know, like, since you wear your pocket, you supposed to be able to provide for your pocket. I'm not supposed to have to survi- you know, provide for your pockets, baby, you supposed to be a man.

M (94) $\overset{2}{\text{Well}}$, then, right $\overset{32}{\text{then}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{we}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ have to cut it $\overset{31}{\text{short}}$.

eve No, wait a minute, hold on, back up, back up. (shouting)

M (95) $\overset{2}{\text{Find}}$ me $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{another}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{one}}$.

eve Are you supposed to be independent?

M (96) $\overset{23}{\text{What}}$?

eve Are you supposed to be independent. Independent. On your own. Emancipated (comments, interruptions) No, no, man, uh-uh, I'm talkin to you. Now are you sposeta be independent and on your own?

M (97) $\overset{4F\ IN}{\text{Yeah}}$.

eve Are you supposed to be a cool dude?

M (98) $\overset{23}{\text{No}}$.

eve No?

M (99) $\overset{3}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ plain old $\overset{3}{\text{Miles}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{Baker}}$.

eve Okay. Is Miles Bailor supposed to be unique and ...

N (100) $\overset{3}{\text{She}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{say}}$ Miles $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{Bailor}}$! (laughs)

M (101) $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{Miles}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{Baker}}$.

eve Baker?

M (102) $\overset{32}{\text{Yeah}}$.

eve I'm sorry. My apology. Is Miles Baker supposed to be unique? Is he supposed to be, like, one of a kind?

M (103) $\overset{31}{\text{Yeah}}$.

eve Is Miles Baker supposed to be sharp?

M (104) $\overset{31}{\text{No}}$. (pause, then laughter)

eve I mean, as far as mentality is concerned, you supposed to be smart, sharp, together.

M (105) $\overset{3}{\text{Oh}}$, $\overset{31}{\text{yeah}}$.

eve You supposed to have your shit together, right?

M (106) $\overset{31}{\text{Yeah}}$, $\overset{3\ 1\ \ 1}{\text{definitely}}$.

eve No if you got your shit together what you need me for to keep it goin?

M (107) $\overset{31}{\text{No}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{go}}$,

(108) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ necessarily $\overset{3}{\text{need}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$.

eve No, brother, you came down and said that I'm supposed to make a whole lotta money.

M (109) $\overset{2}{\text{Now}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{wait}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{a}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{minute}}$.

(110) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ necessarily $\overset{3}{\text{need}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$.

(111) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ know, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ go ahead and throw you a few $\overset{3}{\text{lines}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{and}}$, uh, see where you $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{comin}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{from}}$.

eve Ohhhh.

M (112) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ if a couple days $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{later}}$, I don't get no ($\overset{3}{\text{inaudible}}$) $\overset{2}{\text{from}}$ you, I'm, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, I'm just gonna have to keep on $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{steppin'}}$.

(113) $\overset{2}{\text{Don't}}$ say nuttin $\overset{3}{\text{to}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{you}}$.

eve So what you're saying to me is that, ah, Miles Baker, who's supposed to be unique in himself, you know, a unique person, who's supposed to be sharp and on the ball, with it --

Miles Baker needs a woman,

M (114) $\overset{2}{\text{Miles}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{Baker}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ain't}}$ tryin to do $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{nothin}}$.

(115) $\overset{2}{\text{Miles}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{Baker}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{tellin}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{you}}$.

eve Miles Baker needs a woman who don't have nothin up there, so that he can rule her.

M (116) $\overset{31}{\text{No}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{that's}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{not}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it}}$.

eve Yes, this is what I hear. Miles Baker needs a dumb broad.

M (117) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{rules}}$ $\overset{4}{\text{all}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{the}}$ young $\overset{1}{\text{ladies}}$.

eve Hm?

M (118) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{rules}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{all}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{of}}$ 'em, cause, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{they}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ain't}}$ $\overset{4\ 1}{\text{nothin}}$.

eve Oh, they ain't nothin.

M (119) $\overset{23}{\text{Hell}}$, $\overset{41}{\text{no}}$.

eve Then why do you bother with 'em?

M (120) $\overset{2}{\text{Just}}$ to get some mother-fuckin $\overset{4\ 1}{\text{money}}$ from 'em, $\overset{3}{\text{that's}}$ $\overset{23}{\text{all}}$.

eve You should be able to do better.

M (121) $\overset{31}{\text{Shit}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{why}}$ should $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{get}}$ all $\overset{3}{\text{my}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{mother}}$-$\overset{2}{\text{fuckin}}$ ...

eve No, I ain't talkin bout, now wait a minute, hold on, back up. Back up. Now you're talkin bout one track.

(comments, interruptions)

M (122) $\overset{2}{\text{There's}}$ $\overset{4F}{\text{not}}$ $\overset{2N}{\text{no}}$ two $\overset{31}{\text{tracks}}$.

eve I just said two.

M (123) $\overset{3}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ talkin bout $\overset{31}{\text{one}}$.

(124) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

eve I didn't say there was only two.

M (125) $\overset{2\ 3}{\text{Money}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{or}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{nothin}}$.

eve Money or nothin.

M (126) $\overset{31}{\text{Yeah}}$.

eve So the only way you can get money is by dealin with the little people.

M (127) $\overset{2}{\text{Dealin}}$ with the $\overset{3}{\text{lit}}\overset{2}{\text{tle}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{pe}}$ ...

(128) $\overset{4}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ care if they $\overset{23}{\text{big}}$, $\overset{23}{\text{small}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{or}}$ $\overset{4F}{\text{ti}}\overset{2N}{\text{ny}}$, $\text{ma}\overset{3}{\text{ma}}$.

eve No, but you can't deal with anybody unless they're little.

M (129) $\overset{31}{\text{Shit}}$.

eve Right on. This is where you're comin from. You tellin me, that Miles Baker is here, and the only people that Miles Baker has any control over, is people there, because anybody else, that is on the same level, or higher, than Miles Baker, is gonna know where Miles Baker is shooting from, is gonna tell Miles Baker ...

(shouting)

M (130) $\overset{31}{\text{Hey}}$.

(131) $\overset{2}{\text{Could}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ ask you a $\text{ques}\overset{3}{\text{tion}}$? (laughter)

(132) $\overset{2}{\text{Could}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ ask you a $\text{ques}\overset{3}{\text{tion}}$?

(133) $\overset{2}{\text{Where}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{from}}$?

eve Why does it matter?

M (134) $\overset{3}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ $\text{ask}\overset{3}{\text{in}}$.

eve Why does it matter? What if I tell you I'm from my mother's womb.

M (135) $\overset{31}{\text{No}}$.

B (136) $\overset{3}{\text{That's}}$ where you $\overset{3}{\text{from}}$? (laughter)

eve That's where I'm from. Is it not the truth? It's the truth.

M (137) .. $\overset{3}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{talkin}}$ bout, is $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{on}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{this}}$ side of town $\overset{2}{\text{or}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{what}}$?

eve What difference does it make what side of town I'm on? I'm here right now, that's what matters. Let's deal with the present. The past is, you know, obsolete.

M (138) $\overset{31}{\text{Oh}}$, $\overset{31}{\text{oh}}$, $\overset{31}{\text{oh}}$.

(139) $\overset{2}{\text{The}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{past}}$.

eve Is obsolete.

M (140) $\overset{2}{\text{She}}$ $\overset{3\ \ 1}{\text{flashin}}$.

eve You see, if you gonna get somewhere, you can't be goin through this trippy business of, uh, where you're from, and uh this kind of thing. If you're gonna deal with people, you gotta deal with people as they are, right then and there. Because you goin into the bag of the past'll mess you up, will put holes in your pocket, will put holes in your shoes, will let the juice run out, shrivel you up, you will dehydrate, and become nothing.

(laughter, shouting, Bert jumps to his feet)

B (141) $\overset{31}{\text{Oooh}}$, $\overset{4}{\text{Gaw}}$!

(142) $\overset{31}{\text{Shit}}$!

(143) $\overset{3}{\text{Oooh}}$!

S (144) $\overset{3}{\text{Who}}$ she talkin $\overset{31}{\text{about}}$?

(145) $\overset{3}{\text{Miles}}$?

(146) $\overset{3}{\text{Huh}}$?

eve Now. As far as keeping your shit together, it takes more than money, my man, because there's a lot of people with a lot of money that have no shit whatsoever. You cannot survive without shit, no matter how unpleasant it is, just like you cannot survive without bacteria. Therefore what I am trying to tell you is that you might have money in your pocket, but if you don't have your shit together, you will be alone, you will not be able to enjoy it. It does not pay to ha ...

M (147) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ mean, if I $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{have}}$ a lotta $\overset{3}{\text{money}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{3\ \ 2}{\text{gonna}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{enjoy}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it}}$.

(148) $\overset{2\ 4\ 1}{\text{Whatever}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{know}}$.

eve Yeah, but listen to this. If you have your wheels, and if you're thinking on a limited scale, like a Cadillac, which is, you know, uh, from the Year One, if you're still thinking about gold teeth, which is from the Year One, if you're thinking about vines, which is here and then past, and that is as far as your thoughts go,

M (149) $\overset{3}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{thinkin}}$ about $\overset{31}{\text{myself.}}$

eve Well, that's what I'm sayin. And if that is as far as your thoughts go, then, my man, you will have your car and your gold tooth, your couple dollars in your pocket, your clothes, and you will be totally positively unto yourself. You will be nowhere. So. This is what I'm sayin. (much laughter)

M (150) $\overset{32}{\text{God}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{damn!}}$ (laughter)

(151) $\overset{3}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{not}}$ even gonna $\overset{3}{\text{talk}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{no}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{more.}}$ (laughter)

eve Well, listen. You know, I'm getting down, I understand, just...

M (152) $\overset{2}{\text{No,}}$ you're $\overset{4}{\text{not}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{getting}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{down...}}$ (comments, laughter)

eve Eldridge Cleaver said the same thing.

M (153) $\overset{31}{\text{No,}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{we're}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{not}}$ even $\overset{4}{\text{talkin}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{about}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{him,}}$

eve No, well, I am.

M (154) ... $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ an $\overset{31}{\text{me.}}$

eve Eldridge Cleaver came down with the same thing. Now, Eldridge Cleaver knew what was happening. He knows what's happening. He dealin...

M (155) $\overset{31}{\text{Hey,}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{talk}}$ to $\overset{3}{\text{him,}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ talk to $\overset{31}{\text{him.}}$

eve Talk to him, talk to him? Okay. As far as women and men go, who needs who? (laughter) Who needs who?

N (156) $\overset{2}{\text{A}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{man}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{needs}}$ a $\overset{31}{\text{woman.}}$ (comments)

(157) $\overset{2}{\text{Well,}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{how}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{come}}$ guys always want to get $\overset{31}{\text{paid?}}$

N (158) $\overset{2}{\text{They}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{must}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{need}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{so}}\text{me}\overset{2}{\text{body}}$ if they gonna get $\overset{32}{\text{paid}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{rea}}\overset{2}{\text{lly}}$.

(comments, laughter)

(159) $\overset{3}{\text{Tal}}\overset{2}{\text{kin}}$ bout you guys wanta get $\overset{3}{\text{paid}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{all}}$ the $\overset{1}{\text{time}}$.

eve Can men do without women?

B (160) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can}}$.

(161) $\overset{23}{\text{Yeah}}$.

(162) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{can}}$. (laughter)

eve That means, you would have quite a tender penis, because you would have to masturbate all the time, right?

B (163) $\overset{23}{\text{Yeah}}$?

eve Okay. Can women do without men?

M (164) $\overset{23}{\text{Hell}}$ $\overset{42}{\text{no}}$.

N (165) $\overset{32}{\text{Yes}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{they}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{can}}$.

eve Why not? Why do you feel they can't?

N (166) $\overset{31}{\text{Yeah}}$.

(167) $\overset{2}{\text{How}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{come}}$?

M (168) $\overset{2}{\text{Cause}}$ they $\overset{31}{\text{can't}}$.

N (169) $\overset{32}{\text{Yes}}$ they $\overset{23}{\text{can}}$.

B (170) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{wou}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{wou}}\text{ldn't}$ have a tender $\overset{3}{\text{pe}}\overset{2}{\text{nis}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{ei}}\overset{1}{\text{ther}}$. (laughter)

eve What would you have?

B (171) $\overset{3}{\text{What}}$ would I $\overset{43}{\text{have}}$?

eve Yeah, what would you have?

B (172) $\overset{2}{\text{It's}}$ not $\text{ne}\overset{3}{\text{ce}}\overset{1}{\text{ssa}}\overset{1}{\text{ry}}$.

(173) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ wouldn't have $\overset{42}{\text{that}}$.

eve Okay, fine, but what would you have?

(long pause, then laughter)

eve All right, so what we're saying is sex isn't necessary. It's like a added attraction. (interruptions) Is sex necessary? Is kissing necessary?

42 31
M (174) Hell no. (laughter)

eve Okay, is screwing necessary?

2 3
B (175) Is who?

eve Screwing.

32 3
M (176) No, really.

eve Then why do it? (comments)

2 31 3 2
S (177) It's good, that's why.

2 31
(178) It's just good.

2 32
(179) To me.

eve What makes it good?

23
S (180) Me.

2 3
(181) And the woman.

eve Oh. That's a beautiful statement. You and the woman. That's exactly how I feel. It takes two.

2 3 2 3 2
S (182) I don't know how you feel.

31
(183) Shit.

eve Well, I'm saying, that's how I feel. It takes two.

3 2 3 2 4 1 1
S (184) You have, you have to tell me how you feel.

eve Well, I'm telling you, if you listen. Are you listening?

2 3
S (185) Mmhmm.

eve It takes two. Uhh, how would it be if it only took one?

3 2 31
S (186) Mmmmmm.

2 3 1 1
(187) I ain't never tried it that way. (laughter, comments)

eve If a mother left her family, if a woman left her family, would she be looked at the same, or in the same manner, as a man or a husband leaving a family?

N (188) $\overset{32}{\text{Yeah}}$.

L (189) $\overset{31}{\text{No}}$.

B (190) $\overset{23}{\text{Yeah}}$.

eve Is it worse for a woman to leave her family than it is for a man to leave his family?

B (191) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{think}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{so}}$.

(192) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{think}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{so}}$.

N (193) $\overset{2}{\text{Yeah}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$ ...

(194) $\overset{2}{\text{Did}}$ you say is it $\overset{3}{\text{worse}}$?

eve Is it worse for a woman to leave her family than it is for a man to leave his family?

N (195) $\overset{2}{\text{Yeah}}$.

B (196) $\overset{2}{\text{Yeah}}$.

eve How you figure?

B (197) $\overset{2}{\text{How}}$ I $\overset{3}{\text{fi}}\overset{3}{\text{gure}}$?

N (198) $\overset{2}{\text{A}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{wo}}\overset{2}{\text{man}}$ could do more, than a $\overset{3}{\text{man}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{could}}$ for a $\overset{1}{\text{kid}}$.

L (199) $\overset{2}{\text{Not}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{re}}\overset{2}{\text{ally}}$. (comments)

B (200) $\overset{2}{\text{Would}}$ you, ah, would $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{ah}}$, just $\overset{3}{\text{aban}}\text{don}$ your $\text{chil}\overset{3}{\text{dren}}$?

eve Don't know what I might do. Now that's the truth. I can't say I wouldn't. Can't say I would. Cause I don't know what I'm capable of doing. And that's the truth.

B (201) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ think you're $\overset{3}{\text{ca}}\overset{1}{\text{pa}}\text{ble}$ of $\text{go}\overset{1}{\text{ing}}$.

eve Well, I hope it never comes to that, but time will tell. Do you think a woman has as much right to duff as a man does?

L (202) $\overset{31}{\text{Yeah}}$.

N (203) $\overset{31}{\text{Yeah}}$.

L (204) $\overset{3}{\text{He}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can}}$ walk out, $\overset{3}{\text{she}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{can}}$ walk $\overset{1}{\text{out}}$.

eve It's easy to say, but I mean, as far as the neighborhood is concerned, and we have to deal with the neighborhood, I'm sorry, but it's a must -- would she be in a worse situation if she decided to come back?

B (205) $\overset{3}{\text{She}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{couldn't}}$ even $\overset{4}{\text{come}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{back}}$.

eve Could the man come back?

N (206) $\overset{23}{\text{No}}$.

B (207) $\overset{2}{\text{It's}}$ bein $\overset{32}{\text{done}}$.

eve Can anybody explain to me why that is? Why is it a man can duff, and can come back and never think it's more or less rough on the family? (comments) You know, why is it that the woman can't duff and come back, without excess package?

L (208) $\overset{2}{\text{What}}$ you $\overset{31}{\text{mean}}$?

eve Without a baby, I mean, you know. We're exempting that factor, that she might be pregnant or something like that.

L (209) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$ she really serious about $\overset{3}{\text{stay}}\overset{2}{\text{ing}}$.

B (210) ...$\overset{3}{\text{ne}}\overset{1}{\text{ver}}$ come $\overset{1}{\text{back}}$. (laughs)

(211) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{said}}$, end up $\overset{31}{\text{dead}}$.

(212) $\overset{41}{\text{Oh}}$.

(213) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ couldn't $\overset{3}{\text{go}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{for}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{that}}$.

eve You mean, just period, you couldn't go for a woman duffing and coming back.

B (214) $\overset{2}{\text{Preg}}\overset{3}{\text{nant}}$?

eve Oh, I said without thinking about pregnancy, you know, exempting that factor.

B (215) $\overset{31}{\text{Oh}}$.

eve Not considering that factor at all.

B (216) $\overset{31}{\text{Yeah}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{see}}$ where you're $\overset{3\ \ 2}{\text{comin}}$ $\overset{23}{\text{from}}$.

N (217) $\overset{2F}{\text{If}}$ $\overset{3F}{\text{she}}$ $\overset{2F}{\text{left}}$ for a good $\overset{3F\ 2F}{\text{reason}}$, you $\overset{2F}{\text{know}}$.

eve I ... what if she left, she was just damn sick and tired of the whole situation, she was tired of havin to go through hassles over finances and what have you, sick and tired of hearin so-and-so talk about so-and-so, and all this kind of mess, sick and tired of havin to prepare dinner and what have you, and sick and tired of bein downed if that was the situation, that particular incident, and decided she felt like duffing, and she duffs.

(soft comments)

B (218) $\overset{2N}{\text{She}}$ $\overset{3\ \ 2}{\text{couldn't}}$ come back to $\overset{32}{\text{me}}$.

eve She couldn't come back to you?

B (219) $\overset{2}{\text{Not}}$ even if she $\overset{3}{\text{left}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{for}}$ $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{thirty}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{minutes}}$. (laughs)

eve Oooh! Cold dude! (laughs) Really cold. (soft comments)

Do you think black women should always work?

N (220) $\overset{23}{\text{Wha}}$?

eve Should black women always have to work?

S (221) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$ she's $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{able}}$ to work, she should $\overset{23}{\text{work}}$. (comments)

eve Do you feel it's a woman's position to work?

N (222) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$ a dude can't provide for his $\overset{3\ \ 2}{\text{family}}$ well ain't nothin else she can $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{but}}$ go out and get a $\overset{1}{\text{job}}$.

(223) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{he}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can}}$ provide for his family, she shouldn't $\overset{3}{\text{have}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{to}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{work}}$.

B (224) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{think}}$ it depends on what kind of $\overset{32}{\text{jobs}}$ (inaudible)

B (225) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$, uh, my $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{lady}}$ has $\overset{3}{\text{skills}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ work in $\overset{3}{\text{IBM}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{and}}$ uh she would, un, was qualified to $\overset{3}{\text{work}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{in}}$ it $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{think}}$ that's a pretty nice $\overset{23}{\text{job}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(226) $\overset{2}{\text{Or}}$ a $\overset{3\ 3}{\text{secretary}}$.

(227) $\overset{2}{\text{Uh}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{wouldn't}}$ let her work in the $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{Olympic}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{Hotel}}$.

(228) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$. (inaudible comments)

eve What else do you think has to do with Woman's Lib?

B (229) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{really}}$ don't $\overset{31}{\text{know}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{know}}$.

(230) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ haven't looked $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{into}}$ it, $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{know}}$, $\overset{1}{\text{about}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{that}}$ ... (inaudible)

eve ...I say you don't think, I'm asking that. Based on the statement that you said, if they ever did get equal. (laughs) I caught on to that.

B (231) $\overset{23}{\text{Yeah}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{know}}$.

eve Why aren't women equal? I mean, how aren't they equal?

B (232) $\overset{2}{\text{They're}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{not}}$ $\overset{1\ 1}{\text{equal}}$.

eve Why not?

B (233) $\overset{3}{\text{They're}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{not}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{equal}}$.

(234) $\overset{2}{\text{Cause}}$ they're $\overset{31}{\text{weak}}$.

eve Hm?

B (235) $\overset{2}{\text{They're}}$ $\overset{41}{\text{weak}}$.

eve How are they weak?

B (236) $\overset{2}{\text{They're}}$ weak-$\overset{3\ 1}{\text{minded}}$.

eve Weak-minded?

B (237) $\overset{31}{\text{Right}}$.

(238) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{mean}}$, they, they could probably uh, $\overset{3}{\text{get}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{tough}}$, but I don, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ think they could get as tough as a $\overset{32}{\text{man}}$.

eve Would you call that weak-minded, or would you call that humane?

2 41 3 2
B (239) It's both, really.

3 2 23
N (240) I know some, some ladies that are tougher than men.

eve What about prostitutes?

2 3 1
S (241) What about 'em?

eve What about 'em?

2 4 1
S (242) What about 'em?

eve Do you consider them strong or weak?

31
B (243) Strong. (inaudible comments)

3 2 3 2 31
(244) I don't consider them at all.

eve All right, but I mean, let's consider them. (inaudible comments)

2 31
B (245) I don't know.

3 2 31
(246) Probably strong.

eve In what way? You mean mentally?

2 3 2 3 1 1
B (247) No, I mean physically. (inaudible comments)

2 3 2 3 1 1
S (248) There's some weak ones and some strong ones.

3 2 3 1 1
(249) That goes for everybody.

2 3 1 1
(250) Automatically. (inaudible comments)

eve Women and men prostitutes?

4F
N (251) Yeah.

3N 4
S (252) Mmhmm.

2 3
L (253) Mmhmm.

eve You're savin there are men prostitutes.

3 4
S (254) Mmhm.

31
M (255) Yeah.

eve What do you call a man prostitute?

2 31 3 2 4 1 1
S (256) I calls him a punk, that's what I calls him.

2 3 4 1
(257) A bad mother-fucker.

2 31 2 32
(258) They punks, to me.

B (259) $\overset{2}{\text{Yeah}}$, but $\overset{3}{\text{there's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{some}}$ dudes gettin $\overset{3}{\text{paid}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{by}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{wo}}\overset{2}{\text{men}}$ that ain't $\overset{31}{\text{punks}}$.

eve What are they?

B (260) $\overset{3}{\text{They're}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{prostitutin}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{too}}$.

eve If you don't, Do you, would you consider them -- I'm asking personally, would you consider those type punks also?

B (261) $\overset{31}{\text{What}}$?

eve The ones that are not bisexual. The ones that, you know, uh receive money from women for functioning sexually.

S (262) $\overset{31}{\text{No}}$. (comments)

eve Why not?

S (263) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{think}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{if}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ dude could get $\overset{3}{\text{paid}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{for}}$ doin $\overset{32}{\text{that}}$, go ahead and $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(comments)

eve That's bein a stud.

S (264) $\overset{31}{\text{Yeah}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{so}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{what}}$?

eve Yeah, but I mean, you know, you figure that, you know, all through that business of the white man say, Hey, Blackie, you're a stud, and all I'm gonna do is use you for breeding, and like, you know, um, you get together with that one, and you breed, and you get together with that one, and you breed, and uh, you're paid...

M (265) $\overset{2}{\text{It}}$ ain't nothin $\overset{3}{\text{like}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{that}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{now}}$... (inaudible)

eve Like how?

M (266) $\overset{2}{\text{Like}}$ the $\overset{3}{\text{white}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{man}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{did}}$.

(267) $\overset{2}{\text{It}}$ ain't nothin $\overset{3}{\text{like}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{that}}$. (inaudible)

eve How you figure?

M (268) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\text{s}\overset{2}{\text{ma}}\text{rter'n}$ the $\overset{32}{\text{dude}}$, you $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(269) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ gettin $\overset{32}{\text{paid}}$, you $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(270) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ have to stay $\overset{2}{\text{there}}$.

(271) $\overset{2}{\text{Cut}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{it}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{out}}$ any time you $\overset{3}{\text{want}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{to}}$.

(272) $\overset{3}{\text{She}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ain't}}$ got any $\overset{3}{\text{control}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{over}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$.

eve Yeah, but you still a stud.

M (273) $\overset{23}{\text{Huh}}$?

eve You still bein a stud. (comments, laughter)

Yeah. Any time that you're using your penis for money, or as a service, because that's actually what you're doing ...

S (274) $\overset{2}{\text{A}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{ser}}\overset{2}{\text{vice}}$?

(275) $\overset{2}{\text{It}}$ service $\overset{41}{\text{you}}$!

eve It serves you, but I mean ... yeah, yeah?

S (276) $\overset{2}{\text{So}}$ if you $\overset{3}{\text{want}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$, like, what $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ said $\overset{32}{\text{there}}$, do it for
$\overset{42}{\text{free}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, it's a $\overset{3}{\text{ser}}\overset{2}{\text{vice}}$ to $\text{my}\overset{41}{\text{self}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(277) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ when I $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$, I'm a $\overset{31}{\text{stud}}$.

(278) $\overset{3}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{what}}$ $\overset{4}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ $\overset{2:}{\text{said}}$.

eve No, what I'm saying is that if you're going to...

S (279) $\overset{3}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{what}}$ you $\overset{31:}{\text{said}}$.

(280) $\overset{2}{\text{It's}}$ a $\overset{4}{\text{ser}}\overset{2}{\text{vice}}$!

(281) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{use}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{my}}$ penis for a $\overset{4}{\text{ser}}\overset{2}{\text{vice}}$! (laughter)

eve And you're getting paid for that service, you're using it as a service. Instead, as a communicable, uh, you know, uh, as, instead of communicating intimate feeling or something of that nature. Because what you're saying is, hey, there's a piece of meat, or there's a hole; I'm gonna service that hole and that eve hole is gonna pay me, and that's it, instead of saying, there's a person, who I have certain feelings for, you know, and...

(comments)

Yeah, but that's a whole different outlook. Isn't it?

S (282) $\overset{32}{\text{No,}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{not}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{me.}}$

(283) $\overset{3}{\text{It's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{all}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{the}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{same.}}$

(284) $\overset{2}{\text{Whether}}$ you have feelings behind $\overset{3}{\text{it,}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{or}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{whether}}$ you $\overset{31}{\text{don't.}}$

(285) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know,}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{it}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ain't}}$ nothin to $\overset{32}{\text{me.}}$

eve So what you're saying is, screwing is screwing no matter what the reason, no matter what the reason.

S (286) $\overset{3}{\text{M}}\overset{4}{\text{mhmm.}}$

(287) $\overset{31}{\text{Right.}}$ (inaudible)

eve Well, can that be in reverse?

S (288) $\overset{23}{\text{What?}}$

eve Can that be reversed? I mean, brought, you know, the other way around?

B (289) $\overset{2}{\text{It's}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{still}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{re}}\text{verse}\overset{1}{\text{d.}}$

(290) $\overset{2}{\text{It's}}$ $\overset{4}{\text{been}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{reversed}}$ for $\overset{41}{\text{years.}}$ (inaudible comment)

(291) $\overset{2}{\text{Yeah,}}$ it's it's it's $\overset{4}{\text{been}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{reversed}}$ for $\overset{31}{\text{years.}}$

eve So you don't think any more of, you don't think any more -- I expect to get vamped for sayin this -- but you don't expect any more of yourself, you're just saying you're just, you know, there to be screwing and that's it. You don't have any more respect for your body than that.

S (292) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ can get $\overset{3}{\text{paid?}}$

eve No, I'm saying, you don't have any respect, as far as your penis is concerned. It's just there, and it's to do one thing, and, or two things, that's urinating and ejaculating, you know, in erection, and that's all there is to it. That you don't care where you put it. It doesn't matter.

B (293) $\overset{32}{\text{Yeah}}$!

(294) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{care}}$ where $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{put}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$.

(295) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{give}}$ a $\overset{2}{\text{damn}}$.

(296) $\overset{31}{\text{Shit}}$! (laughter, comments)

eve I mean, you say you hit, hit and run, I mean, you know, you get into a hole and you cut out when you want to, and, you know, this type of thing. So you put it where it dips in, you know, or you put it wherever you might get paid...

B (297) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{put}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$ where I $\overset{3}{\text{want}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it}}$.

(298) $\overset{3}{\text{Re}}\overset{1}{\text{ally}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ give $\overset{1}{\text{a}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{damn}}$. (laughs)

(299) ... $\overset{2}{\text{I}}\overset{31}{\text{care}}$.

eve So there's more to it than being paid off for it.

S (300) $\overset{4F}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{3F}{\text{don't}}$ have to get $\overset{4F}{\text{paid}}$.

eve I'm not saying you have to get paid.

S (301) ...$\overset{3N}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can}}$ do it for $\overset{31}{\text{free}}$.

eve You can.

S (302) $\overset{3}{\text{Mm}}\overset{4}{\text{hmm}}$.

(303) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{do}}$ it for $\overset{2}{\text{free}}$,

(304) $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$?

eve No, I like to get paid.

S (305) $\overset{2}{\text{Ain't}}$ nothin $\overset{3}{\text{wrong}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{with}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$.

S (306) $\overset{2}{\text{Gettin}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{paid}}$. (inaudible comment)

(307) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{gonna}}$ do it at $\overset{32}{\text{all}}$, can't $\overset{3}{\text{blame}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$, likin to get $\overset{32}{\text{paid}}$.

(308) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$ you $\overset{32}{\text{can}}$.

(309) $\overset{2}{\text{Just}}$ like $\overset{3}{\text{I'd}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{like}}$ to get $\overset{3}{\text{paid}}$. (inaudible comment)

eve Is love corny?

S (310) $\overset{23}{\text{What}}$?

eve Is love corny?

S (311) $\overset{3}{\text{Love}}$?

eve Corny.

S (312) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ know nothin $\overset{3}{\text{about}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{love}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{ser}}\overset{1}{\text{iously}}$. (laughter)

(313) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ know nothin $\overset{32}{\text{about}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{love}}$.

(314) $\overset{2}{\text{It's}}$ just a $\overset{3}{\text{word}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{me}}$.

eke (inaudible comment)

S (315) $\overset{2}{\text{Can}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ tell me somethin about $\overset{3}{\text{it}}$?

eve Not really. Not much.

S (316) $\overset{23}{\text{What}}$?

eve It's a four-letter word. (long dissertation follows on the origin of the word "love") Had somebody ask me about fellatio. Why do people perform fellatio?

B (317) $\overset{3}{\text{What}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$ $\overset{41}{\text{that}}$?

eve That's oral sex.

B (318) $\overset{3}{\text{What}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$ $\overset{41}{\text{that}}$? (laughter)

eve That's when you suck a penis, or, a man sucks a woman's vagina.

B (319) $\overset{31}{\text{Oh}}$, $\overset{31}{\text{yeah}}$.

eve Fellatio.

S (320) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{never}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{heard}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{about}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it}}$,

(321) $\overset{23}{\text{huh}}$?

B (322) (laughter) ... $\overset{2}{\text{break}}$ it $\overset{31}{\text{down}}$.

S (323) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ don't know why they $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{that}}$?

eve No, I said someone asked me why.

S (324) $\overset{2}{\text{Cause}}$ they $\overset{4}{\text{like}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it}}$.

eve Mmhmm. That's what I told 'em. (laughter) I said they have an understanding. Now there's some people that's, you know, definitely taboo. I mean, they just can't tolerate the thought of it, much less going through the act. In some states, it's illegal; you can be put in jail for that, even if you're married.

S (325) $\overset{3}{\text{Ain't}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{that}}$ a $\overset{1}{\text{bitch}}$! (laughter)

eve Yeah, but I mean, it's the truth.

S (326) $\overset{2}{\text{They're}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{crazy}}$!

eve It's a fact. It's the way things are. I say, if those two people have an understanding as far as that's concerned, that's between them. You talk about punks and faggots. Talk about lesbians. Homosexuals. Everybody gets so quiet in here. (laughter)

B (327) $\overset{4F}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2N}{\text{was}}$ just quiet cause I wanta see what you was, what $\overset{4F}{\text{else}}$ $\overset{1N}{\text{you}}$ was gonna $\overset{1}{\text{say}}$.

eve I say they got an understanding between themselves, they're not bothering anyone, it's their business.

B (328) $\overset{2}{\text{Yeah}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{it's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{their}}$ own $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{business}}$.

eve Yeah, if somebody know that somebody is a faggot, or somebody knows somebody is a la, a lesbian, they wanta jump on 'em.

(comments)

S (329) $\overset{2}{\text{No}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ wanta $\overset{3}{\text{jump}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{on}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{'em}}$.

(330) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ don't wanta have nothin to $\overset{4}{\text{do}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{wit}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{'em}}$.

S (331) $\overset{3}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ way it is with $\overset{32}{\text{me.}}$ (comments)

eve Why not?

S (332) $\overset{2}{\text{Cause}}$ I don't $\overset{3}{\text{like}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{'em.}}$

eve Why not?

S (333) $\overset{2}{\text{Cause}}$ what they $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ don't $\overset{31}{\text{like.}}$ (laughter)

eve You mean you cannot have ...

S (334) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{some}}$th$\overset{2}{\text{in's}}$ around me that $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ like and $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can't}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{stand}}$
$\overset{2}{\text{it,}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ want it $\overset{3}{\text{around}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{me.}}$

(335) $\overset{3}{\text{That's,}}$ that's $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ what it $\overset{3!1}{\text{is.}}$

(336) $\overset{3}{\text{We}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ cut it $\overset{3}{\text{short}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{right}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{then.}}$ (comments)

(337) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ don't like what they $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ ...

eve Can you tell one when you see one?

B (338) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can.}}$

eve All the time?

B (339) $\overset{31}{\text{Yeah,}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{damn}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{near.}}$

eve You're sure.

B (340) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ tell you $\overset{3}{\text{what,}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ know if I'm in $\overset{3}{\text{bed}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{with}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{one.}}$

eve I hope you find out before you get to that point. (laughter) Hope you find out before you get that far. Be kinda unfortunate if you didn't. They got a lot that could beat you. That's true. You can go to New York, and you can find a lot of 'em that could beat you from here to Timbuctoo. You got some strong dudes. Don't you dare look at 'em cross-eyed. They take you by the collar and say, "What's wrong witchou?" (laughter) Just like that, and your back'd be right up against the wall in no time.

B (341) $\overset{23}{\text{Yeah.}}$

B (342) $\overset{3}{\text{There's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{some}}$ like $\overset{23}{\text{that}}$.

(343) $\overset{3}{\text{There's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{some}}$ like $\overset{23}{\text{that}}$.

eve You got some that's just as straight. What do we mean by straight? I don't know, that's the terminology that people use. You got some that, uh, you wouldn't know. You just wouldn't know. No way in the world that you would know. Unless maybe you went to a party with them, or somethin like that. Then you might know.

B (344) $\overset{2}{\text{No}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{take}}$ that $\overset{31}{\text{back}}$.

(345) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{really}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ ...

(346) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{could}}$ recognize $\overset{32}{\text{some}}$, but $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ ...

eve What turns people into things, you know, uh, that are supposed to be adverse to society?

S (347) $\overset{2}{\text{Their}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{minds}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{their}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{heads}}$.

b (348) $\overset{3}{\text{I'll}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{tell}}$ you about $\overset{32}{\text{one}}$.

(349) $\overset{2}{\text{This}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{broad}}$.

(350) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ uh, it was her old $\overset{31}{\text{man}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(351) $\overset{2}{\text{That}}$ kinda $\overset{31}{\text{dude}}$.

(352) $\overset{2}{\text{That}}$ kinda $\overset{32}{\text{dude}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$. (noise, inaudible comments)

(353) $\overset{2}{\text{I'd}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{kill}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{'im}}$.

eve Why?

B (354) $\overset{42}{\text{Why}}$!

eve I ask why, because you figure this way. You go somewhere, go somewhere to a party, you talkin, you drinkin and smokin and what have you; and you come across a person. Now you don't know which way this person is. But in actuality, in life, I mean, if you're gonna deal with something realistically, it's up to you to find eve out where that person is coming from. (inaudible comments) If you get your messages crossed, or if you don't get the right message, (inaudible comments) that's your fault. Why you wanta kill him? (inaudible comments) No, I say if you don't receive the messages correctly from that individual, and you find out that you messin with the wrong type, why would you try and kill that person? That person is out for themselves also. Because you made a mistake, you gonna try and kill them.

B (355) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{didn't}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{make}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{no}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{mistake}}$.

eve You did.

B (356) $\overset{3}{\text{Wha}}$, how did I make a $\overset{41}{\text{mistake}}$? (laughter)

eve You got tangled up with the wrong person.

B (357) $\overset{43}{\text{No}}$, se, $\overset{32}{\text{no}}$, $\overset{32}{\text{no}}$, $\overset{31}{\text{no}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{made}}$ the $\overset{32}{\text{mistake}}$.
(358) $\overset{32}{\text{no}}$, $\overset{23}{\text{see}}$, I, I $\overset{2}{\text{knew}}$ what it $\overset{32}{\text{was}}$, you know, but $\overset{2}{\text{uh}}$
(359) $\overset{2}{\text{like}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{was}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{was}}$ in (inaudible), you $\overset{3}{\text{know}}$
(360) $\overset{2}{\text{The}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{peo}}\overset{2}{\text{ple}}$, uh, that was $\text{in}\overset{3}{\text{vol}}\overset{2}{\text{ved}}$
(361) $\overset{2}{\text{uh}}$, well, it happened a man (inaudible) a $\overset{31}{\text{pimp}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, but it wasn't no $\overset{31}{\text{dude}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

S (362) $\overset{31}{\text{What}}$?
(363) $\overset{2}{\text{Who's}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{this}}$? (inaudible comments)

eve What do you feel, what do you feel is needed, for black women, in order for them to be able to relate to black men in a mo, in a more favorable way?

B (364) $\overset{3}{\text{Ho}}\overset{1}{\text{nes}}\overset{1}{\text{ty}}$.

S (365) $\overset{2}{\text{How}}$ do you $\overset{31}{\text{mean}}$, in a more favorable $\overset{1}{\text{way}}$?

eve In a way that will make, uh, now don't take this word incorrectly, eve because every time I use it, men start saying -- no, okay, cool it. In a way that a man will feel more secure, in a way that a man will feel like, uh, he's not being used, that's what I mean by secure also, in a way that a man will be able to feel like a man; without h having to show strength. In a way that a man will be more than happy to do whatever he can for the both of them, and not just for himself. (soft comments)

3 2 31
B (366) I don't know.

eve Okay, then, what is it that turns black men the wrong way? What is it that turns them off, about black women? Why is it that black men will use - now this is a real one, these days - why is it that black men are more eager to use black women and love white women?

2 4 3
B (367) Uh, I don't ... (laughs)

2 4 2 41
(368) Oh, no, I don't know.

4 2 3 2 3 /
(369) I couldn't tell you that, serious business.

3 2 3 31
S (370) I don't think that's true.

3 2 23
W (371) Yeah it is,

3 2
(372) it's true. (comments)

eve It's definitely true in Seattle.

3 4 3 31 3 2
W (373) But I mean, you know, hey, you know

2 31 2 31 2
(374) you gotta look at the whole thing, the whole general society, man

2 3 2 3 / /
(375) every time somebody advertises somethin they got this white chick sittin there;

2 3 2 3 /
(376) we all constantly lookin at this as our symbol of beauty,

2 3
(377) you know?

2 3 1 1
W (378) Long hair, and shit.

3 4 3 41 3 2 4F 1N
(379) Until here recently, yeah, that's all you had to look at.

2 32 31
S (380) Well, if they look good, they look good.

4F3F 3N 4 3 2 3 2 4F 1N
W (381) Yeah, well, I mean, you know, that's where it's been at,

2 3 2 2
(382) here until recently.

S (inaudible)

2 4F 1N 1
W (383) But that's just here recently.

eve Well, why would you have the concept of being able to use a black woman, that, uh, the concept of wanting to use a black woman?

3 4 3 41
S (384) She can do me some good, that's cool.

eve Yeah, but I mean, why would you want to use a black woman?

3 2 3 2 4 1
S (385) I could use, I could use a, a, a red one. (laughter)

eve No! But you're not using ...

2 32 3 2
S (386) ... if she was red, I could use her,

2 3 2 32 3 2
(387) if I wanted to use her for somethin and I saw, regardless of

3 2 3 2 3 1
the color, I'm gonna use her.

eve Okay, let me put it to you this way. Since you have such a variety of women in the world, since you have such a variety of women in Seattle, since you have such a variety of women in the C.D. area, why would you then use black women?

2 3 1
S (388) I just told you.

eve No, you didn't tell me nothin. You talk about red ones.

3 2 3 1
S (389) I just told you.

eve Now, you in contact with different ...

2 3 2 3 1 2
S (390) The color don't mean nothin, see... (inaudible)

eve Yeah, the color should mean something.

31
S (391) Wow.

eve You should have more con, you shouldn't have more concern for
somebody that's in your own family than for somebody that's not?

M (392) $\overset{31}{\text{Shit}}$!

(393) $\overset{3}{\text{Mo}}\overset{2}{\text{ney}}$'s $\overset{3}{\text{mo}}\overset{1}{\text{ney}}$.

eve Money's money.

M (394) $\overset{3}{\text{Huh}}$?

eve Money's money.

M (395) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{was}}$ talkin to $\overset{2}{\text{this}}$... (laughter: M tries to avoid eve)

eve Money's more important.

M (396) $\overset{2}{\text{More}}$ $\text{im}\overset{3}{\text{por}}\overset{2}{\text{tant}}$?

eve Than what? What is money more important than?

M (397) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ask}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{me}}$, and $\overset{3}{\text{I'll}}$ tell $\overset{1}{\text{you}}$. (laughs)

eve Well, tell me, I'm askin. Is money more important than you?

M (398) $\overset{31}{\text{No}}$.

(399) $\overset{3}{\text{Fuck}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it}}$.

eve Then money is more important than everybody else.

M (400) $\overset{31}{\text{Yeah}}$.

eve Then money must be more important than you. Must be!

M (401) $\overset{31}{\text{Why}}$?

eve If you feel that money is the most important thing, if you feel
that you can use anything and anybody,

M (402) $\overset{34F}{\text{Hell}}$ $\overset{4FIN}{\text{yes}}$!

eve for money, then it'll get down to the point where you will use
yourself, for money.

M (403) $\overset{32}{\text{Oh}}$.

(404) $\overset{31}{\text{No}}$.

eve You would never use yourself for money.

M (405) $\overset{2}{\text{All}}$ depends on what the $\overset{4:}{\text{job}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{is}}$.

eve Uh-uh, no, I didn't ask you that. (laughter) No, I didn't ask you that. I asked you one thing. Would you use yourself for money? Now this is what I'm asking.

M (406) $\overset{31}{\text{No}}$.

eve Do pimps use themselves for money?

M (407) $\overset{23}{\text{Yeah}}$.

(408) $\overset{2}{\text{Cause}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{they}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ who' their$\overset{3}{\text{sel}}\overset{1}{\text{ves}}$.

eve Is a man a whore when he uses a woman?

M (409) $\overset{31}{\text{Wha}}$... (inaudible)

eve No, I'm not asking you that. I'm asking you point blank, is a man a whore, now I'm asking everybody, is a man a whore when he uses a woman?

M (410) $\overset{31}{\text{No}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{no}}$.

eve What is he?

M (411) $\overset{3}{\text{He}}$ ain't no $\overset{43}{\text{who'}}$. (laughter)

eve What's a whore? What's a whore? What's a whore?

M (412) $\overset{31}{\text{Shit}}$!

eve What's a whore? (laughter) Come on. What's a whore?

M (413) $\overset{2}{\text{She}}$ a $\overset{23}{\text{black}}$, $\overset{23}{\text{white}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{yel}}\overset{3}{\text{low}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{uh}}$, what$\overset{3}{\text{e}}\overset{1}{\text{ver}}$ it $\overset{1}{\text{is}}$.

eve No, I'm not gettin into race, I'm say...

M (414) $\overset{4}{\text{Wait}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{now}}$, $\overset{4}{\text{hold}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{it}}$,

(415) $\overset{4}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{say}}$ what's a $\overset{4}{\text{who'}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{4}{\text{tel}}\overset{1}{\text{lin}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{you}}$.

eve Yeah, okay.

M (416) $\overset{2}{\text{A}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{who'}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$ a $\overset{23}{\text{black}}$, $\overset{23}{\text{white}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{yel}}\overset{3}{\text{low}}$, $\overset{23}{\text{pink}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{or}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{a}}\overset{2}{\text{ny}}$ color wha-, young $\overset{3}{\text{la}}\overset{2}{\text{dy}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$

(417) $\overset{2}{\text{mh}}$, no, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ain't}}$ gonna say young $\overset{3}{\text{la}}\overset{1}{\text{dy}}$.

M (418) $\overset{2}{\text{which}}$, uh, $\overset{3\,2}{\text{any}}$ $\overset{3\,2}{\text{color}}$ of $\overset{2}{\text{uh}}$,

eve Female.

M (419) $\overset{3}{\text{Wha}}$?

eve Female?

M (420) $\overset{2}{\text{No}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ain't}}$ gonna $\overset{3}{\text{use}}$ $\overset{/}{\text{that}}$ $\overset{/}{\text{word}}$. (laughter)

eve Why not? Female means, you know, opposite of male.

M (421) $\overset{32}{\text{Yeah}}$.
(422) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$ what it $\overset{3}{\text{is}}$,
(423) $\overset{2}{\text{but}}$ uh $\overset{3\,2}{\text{anyway}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{uh}}$

eve I say a man can be a whore. I say there's a lotta whores out here that are men. I say a man can be a tramp just as fast and just as bad, if not worse, than a woman. I say there's a lotta men in this world who are trash.

M (424) $\overset{3/}{\text{Shit}}$!

S (425) $\overset{2}{\text{That}}$ are $\overset{3}{\text{who}}$?

eve Trash.

S (426) $\overset{23}{\text{Yeah}}$?
(427) $\overset{2}{\text{Lotta}}$ $\overset{3\,2}{\text{women}}$ $\overset{3/}{\text{too}}$.

eve Yeah, but I mean, it's, it's always, you know, related to women, right? I mean, women are always called trash and tramps and things of this nature, right?

B (428) $\overset{2}{\text{So}}$ are $\overset{3/}{\text{men}}$.

eve Not as frequently.

B (429) $\overset{2}{\text{Why}}$ is $\overset{3/}{\text{that}}$?

eve You tell me.

B (430) $\overset{3/}{\text{Hey}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{that's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{what}}$ I just asked $\overset{3/}{\text{you}}$. (laughter)

eve You tell me. Because this society is mainly run by men.

B (431) $\overset{3}{\text{B}}$ecause a w$\overset{4}{\text{o}}$m$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$n, uh, is afraid to, to c$\overset{4}{\text{a}}$ll $\overset{1}{\text{a}}$ man a, a
somethi$\overset{1}{\text{n}}$.

M (432) $\overset{31}{\text{No}}$, m$\overset{23}{\text{a}}$n, d$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$n't s$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$y th$\overset{23}{\text{a}}$t. (laughter)

(433) $\overset{42}{\text{No}}$, bl$\overset{23}{\text{oo}}$d, don't s$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$y th$\overset{32}{\text{a}}$t. (comments)

B (434) M$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ybe it's f$\overset{31}{\text{e}}$ar,

(435) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ don't kn$\overset{31}{\text{o}}$w.

eve Do you feel if, uh, women started developing their bodies to the
point where they could blow you away with one punch, it...

B (436) Y$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$ah, $\overset{3}{\text{i}}$t w$\overset{32}{\text{o}}$uld.

(437) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$t w$\overset{32}{\text{o}}$uld, y$\overset{31}{\text{e}}$ah.

eve You figure it has to do with strength, definitely. I mean, that's
a fact, right?

M (438) Y$\overset{31}{\text{e}}$ah.

eve There's not too many women that can kick your behind.

B (439) Th$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$t's th$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$ way $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ f$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$el. (several simultaneous comments)

M (440) $\overset{2}{\text{N}}$obody gonna p$\overset{3}{\text{u}}$nch $\overset{2}{\text{o}}$n m$\overset{32}{\text{e}}$.

eve I'm not talkin about punchin, I'm talkin about knockin you out.

M (441) N$\overset{41}{\text{a}}$w! (laughs)

(442) $\overset{31}{\text{N}}$o.

(443) Sh$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$ just knock me $\overset{31}{\text{o}}$ut!

B (444) Th$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$re's not that m$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$n$\overset{1}{\text{y}}$.

eve There's not that many that can, or there's not that many that do?

B (445) $\overset{2}{\text{N}}$ot that many that c$\overset{31}{\text{a}}$n.

eve Are you sure?

B (446) $\overset{2}{\text{O}}$r w$\overset{32}{\text{i}}$ll.

eve You sure?

B (447) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$'m p$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$s$\overset{1}{\text{i}}$t$\overset{1}{\text{i}}$ve.

eve What does it take to knock you out?

B (448) $\overset{2}{\text{Take}}$ a $\overset{3}{\text{good}}$ right $\overset{31}{\text{cross}}$. (laughter)

eve You think that's all.

B (449) $\overset{2}{\text{To}}$ knock me $\overset{32}{\text{out}}$.

eve Mmhm. (inaudible comments, laughter)

eve What kind of man would use himself as a tramp?

S (450) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{know}}$.

eve What kind of man would use himself as a whore? (inaudible comment) What kind of man would put himself anywhere and everywhere, don't care who he has, what he has, or how long he took, or what for?

S (451) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ want to $\overset{32}{\text{play}}$;

(452) $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{pimp}}$.

M (453) $\overset{2}{\text{A}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{pimp}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{pimp}}$.

W (454) $\overset{2}{\text{But}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{half}}$ these dudes ridin around here $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{half}}$ these dudes' $\overset{1}{\text{images}}$.

S (455) $\overset{2}{\text{Not}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{me}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ (inaudible)

eve A pimp is the baddest thing goin, isn't it?

W (456) $\overset{31}{\text{Shit}}$!

eve Stand up on the corner in his bad shoes, by his bad car, one of these numbers: (demonstrates stance of a pimp on the corner)

B (457) $\overset{3}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ way it $\overset{4}{\text{used}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{to}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{be}}$.

eve Oh. It's not that way any more. Mama's behind the times.

S (458) $\overset{4}{\text{It's}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{still}}$ that $\overset{43}{\text{way}}$.

eve What is it?

S (459) $\overset{3}{\text{It}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ain't}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{no}}$th$\overset{2}{\text{in}}$ to $\overset{32}{\text{me}}$.

eve Then what is it?

B (460) ^{3}It's ^{2}not, ^{3}it's ^{2}not drivin around all day long in a $^{3\ 2\ 2}$Cadillac.

eve Cadillac is old hat anyway. But what is it?

B (461) ^{2}It's ^{2}a...

M (462) ^{2}Cadillac's a ^{3}what?

eve Old hat. That's from Year One. Sick and tired of hearin Cadillac..

M (463) ^{2}Somebody offered ^{3}you ^{2}one, would you ^{3}take ^{3}it?

eve Cadillac? I don't like what's, I don't like the connotations connected to it. I see a Cadillac and I think of a pimp. That's usually what they do, isn't it?

S (464) ^{23}Yeah, ^{2}that's what it ^{3}used ^{2}to be, ^{2}but...

B (465) ^{2}It don't have to ^{3}be ^{2}that ^{32}way.

eve No, right on. I agree witchou. But that's the way it is. Isn't it?

S (466) ^{3}Some ^{2}people buy Cadillacs cause of the simple fact that they ^{3}like $^{/}$'em.

(467) ^{3}You ^{2}know.

(468) ^{3}Not ^{2}to show that they $^{3\ 2}$pimpin.

M (469) ^{3}Some ^{2}of 'em buy 'em cause of the $^{4\ /}$color.

B (470) ^{3}I ^{2}was out to $^{3\ 2}$Laurelhurst, and ^{3}I ^{2}didn't see nothin ^{4}but $^{/\ /}$Cadillacs.

(471) ^{3}I ^{2}know ^{3}they $^{/}$wasn't $^{/}$pimpin.

eve I don't like them people either.

B (472) ^{3}I ^{2}don't like 'em $^{3\ 2}$neither, but I like what they ^{32}got.

(473) ^{2}Sure ^{32}do.

(474) ^{2}Sure wish I ^{3}had ^{2}some.

(475) ^{2}Don't see ^{3}nothin $^{/}$but $^{/}$Cadillacs...

eve Well, he's a businessman. You know, a lot of businessmen own whorehouses too.

B (476) H^{3}uh?

eve I said a lot of businessmen own whorehouses too. Lotta businessmen that would pick up your sister first chance he gets. In that same Cadillac. (soft comments)

W (477) ^{3}I ^{2}think it's a sta^{3}t^{1}us symb^{1}ol.

(478) ^{3}that's ^{2}all.

(479) ^{2}It's a sta^{3}t^{1}us symbol in the black communit^{1}y.

eve It's worn out.

W (480) ^{32}Yeah, it ^{2}is.

(481) ^{2}I agr^{31}ee.

(482) ^{2}But that's what it ^{32}is. (soft comments)

eve How does a woman need to get her shit together?

M (483) ^{3}You ^{2}tell ^{4}us ^{1}that.

eve No, I can, I can, you know, babble on all day from my perspective, that's one little itty bitty teeny weeny itsy bitsy perspective. I mean, let's face it, it is. That's the truth. Not only that, that's a woman's perspective. Now you can read books, all day long, see movies, all day long, woman's perspective, white person's perspective, some gangster's perspective, somebody locked up, cacerated, you know, incarcerated, excuse me, incarcerated perspective. I'm asking you, as black men of the community, and as black men who I hope one day will definitely be in a position to do somethin - what do you think is needed for women to get their shit together?

B (484) ^{2}Get them^{3}selves to^{1}geth^{1}er.

eve How?

B (485) $\overset{2}{\text{A}}$ny way they c$\overset{31}{\text{a}}$n.

eve Where, where do they begin?

B (486) $\overset{3}{\text{A}}$nywh$\overset{1}{\text{e}}$re.

(487) H$\overset{3}{\text{u}}$h?

eve Where do they begin? This is really a very important question.

W (488) W$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$ll, for $\overset{3}{\text{o}}$ne thi$\overset{2}{\text{n}}$g, I'm gonna speak from my own point of v$\overset{32}{\text{i}}$ew,

(489) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$'m, I'm gettin d$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$mn si$\overset{2}{\text{c}}$k and t$\overset{3}{\text{i}}$red $\overset{2}{\text{o}}$f 'em bein st$\overset{3}{\text{u}}$p$\overset{1}{\text{i}}$d.

(490) N$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$ br$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$ins,

M (491) Y$\overset{31}{\text{e}}$ah.

W (492) N$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$ decent c$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$nv$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$rs$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$ti$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$n.

(493) th$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$y don't know $\overset{3}{\text{a}}$nything t$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$ t$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$lk ab$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$ut but "$\overset{1}{\text{D}}$uhhh" "mmmm$\overset{3}{\text{m}}$mmm$\overset{2}{\text{m}}$m" and uh, and uh "$\overset{1}{\text{U}}$huh huh huh huh h$\overset{1}{\text{u}}$h".

(494) $\overset{2}{\text{W}}$ell, h$\overset{32}{\text{e}}$ll, th$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$t $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$in't sh$\overset{31}{\text{i}}$t!

(495) Th$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$t, that d$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$n't, th$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$t don't put bread on the tabl$\overset{4F}{\text{e}}$,

(496) th$\overset{3N}{\text{a}}$t don't raise a decent, $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$t l$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$ast, $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$, a h$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$lfway intelligent famil$\overset{4F}{\text{y}}$,

(497) th$\overset{3N}{\text{a}}$t doesn't help a bl$\overset{4}{\text{a}}$ck d$\overset{3}{\text{u}}$de or a m$\overset{4}{\text{a}}$n g$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$t his m$\overset{4}{\text{e}}$ss t$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$geth$\overset{4F}{\text{e}}$r $\overset{3N}{\text{a}}$nd try to d$\overset{4}{\text{e}}$al w$\overset{3}{\text{i}}$th him on some kind of l$\overset{4}{\text{e}}$$\overset{3}{\text{v}}$el other than jumpin off into b$\overset{4}{\text{e}}$d w$\overset{2}{\text{i}}$th h$\overset{2}{\text{i}}$m,

(498) c$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$use d$\overset{4}{\text{o}}$gs c$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$n do th$\overset{41}{\text{a}}$t.

(499) Th$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$t's wh$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$t $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{e}}$xpect out of black wom$\overset{1}{\text{e}}$n.

(500) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$'m t$\overset{3}{\text{i}}$red $\overset{2}{\text{o}}$f 'em not being able to hold a d$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$c$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$nt convers$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$ti$\overset{1}{\text{o}}$n.

SESSION TWO -- BLACK ENGLISH

The following conversation occurred spontaneously after one of Eve Wilson's discussion groups; the participants are Charles Waterford, director of the drop-in center, Coolidge and Bert.

* * * * * * * * * * *

W (1) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{get}}$ a chick with her $\overset{3}{\text{mess}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{together}}$ boy and $\overset{3}{\text{she}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ --

(2) $\overset{3}{\text{half}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{you}}$ dudes ain't seen $\overset{1}{\text{nothin}}$.

C (3) $\overset{3}{\text{O}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{wow}}$.

(4) $\overset{2}{\text{No}}$, you $\overset{3}{\text{see}}$, that's $\overset{3F}{\text{that's}}$ $\overset{2F}{\text{where}}$ you $\overset{4F\ 1N}{\text{wrong}}$.

W (5) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ can't afford my $\overset{3}{\text{car}}$,

(6) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ can't afford to put clothes on my $\overset{3}{\text{back}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ can't afford to feed my $\overset{3}{\text{kids}}$,

(7) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ can't afford the $\overset{3}{\text{rent}}$ on my $\overset{31}{\text{house}}$,

(8) $\overset{2}{\text{and}}$ there ain't $\overset{3}{\text{nothin}}$ you can $\overset{31}{\text{say}}$.

C (9) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{nice}}$ and $\overset{3}{\text{easy}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{back}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{up}}$, say $\overset{2}{\text{check}}$ it $\overset{31}{\text{out}}$.

W (10) $\overset{2}{\text{Check}}$ out $\overset{32}{\text{what}}$?

C (11) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$ $\overset{4F}{\text{that's}}$ $\overset{3F}{\text{all}}$ she's lookin $\overset{3F}{\text{for}}$,

(12) $\overset{4F}{\text{she's}}$ $\overset{3F}{\text{lookin}}$ in the wrong $\overset{4F}{\text{place}}$ $\overset{3F}{\text{when}}$ she look $\overset{4F}{\text{my}}$ $\overset{3F}{\text{way}}$,

(13) $\overset{2N}{\text{because}}$, I $\overset{2}{\text{mean}}$,

(14) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{de-}}$ $\overset{4F\ 2N}{\text{definitely}}$ wouldn't be after her $\overset{4F\ 2N\ 2}{\text{desperately}}$.

(15) $\overset{2}{\text{There's}}$ other young $\overset{3}{\text{ladies}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{same}}$ as you can say there's other young $\overset{31}{\text{men}}$.

(16) $\overset{3}{\text{It's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{that}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{simple}}$.

(17) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ I mean, $\overset{2F}{\text{she}}$ may be lookin $\overset{3F2F}{\text{good}}$, (comments)

(18) $\overset{2F}{\text{she}}$ may be lookin $\overset{3F2F}{\text{good}}$, $\overset{2N}{\text{but}}$ uh (comments)

W (19) $\overset{4F2F}{\text{You}}$!

4F 2F
W (20) You!

4F 1F
(21) Wait!

4F 2F
(22) You!

4F 2F
(23) You!

2F 4F2F
(24) Crazy about you!

4N 1
B (25) Really.

2F 3F 2F 4F1F
W (26) You got to be puttin me on!

2F 3F
B (27) Are you kidding?

2F 4F 2F
W (28) Am I kidding!

2F:3F 3F2F 3F
(29) Hell, no, I'm not kidding!

4F 2N 2
(30) What have you got --

3F 2F 4F2F
B (31) She got to have somethin to offer me.

2N 3 1
W (32) Oh, I know it.

42 4F 2N
B (33) Hey, like somethin.

2 31
W (34) Like what?

2 3 2 3 2 4 1
B (35) Like a few coins out of her pocket, or anything.

2 4 1 1
W (36) Well, what are you gonna be doin?

2F 4F 4F
B (37) What am I gonna be doin?

3N 2
W (38) Yeah.

32 3 2 3 3:1
B (39) Shoot, support who -- whatever it is. (comments, shouting)

3 32 3
C (40) Shoot, check it out, Wateford.

2 3 2 3 2 3 1
(41) All you're doin is backin yourself up into a corner. (comments)

3 2 3 2 3 3
B (42) She's not supposed to be able to offer me anything?

3 4 2 3 2
C (43) No, you're talkin about puttin coins in your pocket and from

3 2::
what he just said.

3F 2F 4F 1F
W (44) You ain't got no game!

3N 2 3 2 3 2 3 2
B (45) I wasn't even serious about that but she's got to have somethin

3 2 32
to offer me.

3 2 3
W (46) She's got to have somethin to offer you;

2 3 2 41
(47) but what you got to offer her?

3 2 2
B (48) Hey, man, uh --

2 4F 2N 4F 1N
W (49) Just you ain't shit! (comments)

3F 2N 3F 2N 2
(50) bert, now you know bet-

1 2 3 1: 2
(51) oh, Bert, come on, man,

4F 2N 32
(52) you know better than that.

3 1 1
B (53) Who are we talkin about?

4 1 1
W (54) Anybody!

32 3 2 3
C (55) Hey, check it out, Waterford.

3F 2N 31
(56) It gots to be a fifty-fifty thing.

2 3 2 3F 2N 3F2N
(57) If I'm gonna get out there and hustle, so's she.

3 32
W (58) Oh, right!

32 3 2 2
C (59) Yeah, I mean, but from what you were comin down with,

3 2 3 2 2
(60) I was gonna get out there and hustle while she laid back,

2 2
(61) read her little game,

2 3
(62) could have been callin other people up on the phone

2 3F 3F
(63) and ji' like that,

3F 3F
(64) have other men comin over to the pa' ...

3F2N 4F 2N 4F 2N 4F 1N 1
(65) No, I don't, I don't play that game!

3F 2F 3F
W (66) I hear you.

4F 2N 4F 1N 1
C (67) I don't play that game.

2H 3H 2H 3H
(68) If she gonna get on out there,

2H 3H
(69) and, and get down --

3L 2L 3L
(70) she ain't got to to' like I got to to' --

2H 32 3
(71) but still, just to show that she's puttin forth some effort,

2H 3F
(72) and, uh, tryin to help out too --

C (73) $\overset{2}{\text{well}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{then}}$.

(74) $\overset{3}{\text{that's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{what}}$ it $\overset{31::}{\text{is}}$.

(75) $\overset{3F}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2N}{\text{could}}$ $\overset{4F2}{\text{dig}}$ $\overset{3F}{\text{that}}$.

(76) $\overset{2F}{\text{But}}$ as $\overset{3}{\text{far}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{as}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{me}}$ goin $\overset{3}{\text{out}}$,

(77) $\overset{2N}{\text{and}}$ gettin $\overset{3N}{\text{my}}\overset{2}{\text{self}}$

(78) $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{thor}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{gettin}}$ a $\overset{3F}{\text{thorough}}$ hustle goin for $\overset{3F}{\text{myself}}$,

(79) $\overset{3F}{\text{and}}$ then come $\overset{3F}{\text{back}}$

(80) $\overset{3F}{\text{and}}$ givin that broad all my $\overset{3F}{\text{change}}$?

(81) $\overset{23N:}{\text{Man}}$, $\overset{2N}{\text{I}}$ don't $\overset{3}{\text{need}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{no}}$ hammer like $\overset{32}{\text{that}}$.

(82) $\overset{3}{\text{De}}\overset{2}{\text{finitely}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{don't}}$.

(83) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$ she ain't got a $\overset{3}{\text{job}}$,

(84) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{don't}}$ need $\overset{1}{\text{her}}$.

W (85) $\overset{3}{\text{Now}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you're}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{tal}}\overset{1}{\text{kin}}$.

C (86) $\overset{2}{\text{Check}}$ it $\overset{31}{\text{out}}$.

(87) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{could}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{could}}$ argue out $\overset{3}{\text{any}}$ point $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{3F}{\text{want}}$.

(88) $\overset{2N}{\text{She}}$ wanted $\overset{3F}{\text{proof}}$,

(89) $\overset{2N}{\text{I}}$ could $\overset{3}{\text{give}}$ her $\overset{3F}{\text{proof}}$,

W (90) $\overset{4F}{\text{What}}$ could you $\overset{42F}{\text{prove}}$?

(91) $\overset{4F2F}{\text{What}}$?

(92) $\overset{4F}{\text{What}}$ $\overset{2F}{\text{could}}$ you $\overset{4F2F}{\text{prove}}$?

(93) $\overset{4F}{\text{Proof}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{of}}$ $\overset{4F2}{\text{what}}$?

C (94) $\overset{3N2}{\text{Hey}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{prove}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$ ...

(series of shouted comments)

W (95) $\overset{3}{\text{Hold}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{hold}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it}}$.

(96) $\overset{2}{\text{To}}$ a $\overset{3}{\text{cer}}\overset{2}{\text{tain}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{extent}}$,

(97) $\overset{3}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{gonna}}$ be on $\overset{3}{\text{any}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{chick's}}$ side if she tryin to get her $\overset{3}{\text{mess}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{to}}\overset{3}{\text{gether}}$.

W(98) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ if a $\overset{3}{\text{chump}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ain't}}$ got $\overset{3}{\text{sense}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{enough}}$ to $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{realize}}$ he got a good $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{woman}}$,

(99) $\overset{2}{\text{and}}$ tryin to get $\overset{3}{\text{her}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{little}}$ mess $\overset{2}{\text{together}}$,

(100) $\overset{2}{\text{when}}$ she get $\overset{3F}{\text{her}}$ $\overset{2N}{\text{mess}}$ together, gonna get $\overset{4F}{\text{his}}$ $\overset{2N}{\text{mess}}$ together $\overset{4F\ \ 1N}{\text{automatically}}$.

(101) $\overset{3F}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{2F}{\text{a}}$ automatic $\overset{4F\ 1N}{\text{thing}}$.

B (102) $\overset{2N}{\text{Are}}$ you $\overset{32}{\text{sure}}$?

W(103) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ damn $\overset{42}{\text{right}}$.

B (104) $\overset{3}{\text{Hey}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{uh}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, $\overset{3\ \ 2}{\text{appearances}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{fool}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{man}}$.

W(105) $\overset{2\ 3\ 2}{\text{Appearances}}$ $\overset{4}{\text{fool}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$!

(106) $\overset{31}{\text{Shit}}$!

(107) $\overset{2}{\text{I'mo}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{tell}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{somethin}}$.

(108) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ know the $\overset{3}{\text{best}}$ way you do $\overset{3}{\text{that}}$?

B (109) $\overset{2}{\text{Tell}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{me}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{cause}}$ I $\overset{3}{\text{needs}}$ to $\overset{31}{\text{know}}$.

W (110) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{hear}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{you}}$!

(111) $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{Okay}}$, you know what you $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$?

(112) $\overset{2}{\text{When}}$ she got a $\overset{3}{\text{ride}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ ain't got $\overset{3}{\text{one}}$,

(113) $\overset{2}{\text{when}}$ she $\overset{3}{\text{workin}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ ain't $\overset{3}{\text{workin}}$,

(114) $\overset{2}{\text{in}}$ $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{other}}$ words, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{bein}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{used}}$.

(115) $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{Period}}$.

(116) $\overset{2}{\text{Irregardless}}$ of whether $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{got}}$ some money or $\overset{32}{\text{not}}$, you still bein $\overset{32}{\text{used}}$

(117) $\overset{2}{\text{cause}}$ she's got $\overset{3}{\text{everything}}$ makes life $\overset{3\ \ 2}{\text{comfortable}}$,

(118) $\overset{2}{\text{and}}$ you ain't got $\overset{31}{\text{shit}}$.

(119) $\overset{2\ 3}{\text{Right}}$?

(120) $\overset{3}{\text{Who}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ hell's the $\overset{31}{\text{fool}}$?

W (121) You^{4F} are^{1N}.

(122) at^{2} that^{3} point^{2}.

(123) You^{2} ridin in her$^{3:}$ car^{2}.

(124) you^{2} pimpin her^{4F}?

(125) Damn^{2} that^{3} shit^{2}!

(126) She^{3} pimpin^{2} you$^{4F|N}$!

(shouting)

C (127) -- she^{2} can't^{4} call^{1} herself pimpin you^{1}!

W (128) Who^{42}!

(129) Whatchou^{4} talkin^{1} about^{1}?

C (130) If^{2} she^{3} ain't drawin no change out of your pocket she^{2} cain't^{3} call^{1} herself pimpin you^{1}!

W (131) Hold^{3} it^{2}, wait^{3} a^{1} minute^{1}.

(132) The^{2} Man's^{4} pimpin^{2} you^{3}!

(133) And^{2} he^{4} ain't^{2} pullin no goddamn change outa your pocket^{3}.

C (134) -- them^{2} damn taxes is killin^{3} a^{1} person^{1}!

(shouting)

W (135) If^{2} I^{3} was^{2} a bitch^{32},

(136) like^{2} you^{3} guys^{1} call 'em^{1},

(137) a^{2} bitch^{32}, right^{23}?

(shouting)

W (138) Hold^{3} it^{2}, a whore^{32}, then^{23},

(139) if^{2} I^{3} was a whore^{2},

C (140) You^{3} an^{2} ugly^{31} whore^{1}!

(shouting, laughter)

W (141) Okay^{32}.

(142) And^{2}, uh, uh, and I^{3}, I'd go^{2} get me^{3} a^{2}, you^{3} know^{2},

3 2 4F
W (143) I, I'd see one of you boppers,

31N 2 3 2
(144) you know, one of you dudes,

2 3 2 31 2 31
(145) I'd say, okay, hey, lookee here,

2 31
(146) I'd say, I want him.   (pointing at Coolidge)

23
C (147) Yeah?

2 31
W (148) I want him.

2 3
(149) Okay?

2 3 2 4F IN
(150) Hold it, now, that's right.

2 3 2 4F 2N
(151) That's just what she's doin,

23
(152) right?

3 31
(153) I want him,

23
(154) right?

3 2 2
(155) You come over, you know,

2 2
(156) and you have time to see her come in.

2 3 1 1
(157) "I'm gonna go over and run this game down to her."

2 3 1 1
(158) She already set up for you.

2 3 2 3 2 3 2
(159) She says, "Okay, I need him for this, for the next two weeks,

2 3 2 2
(160) for so-and-so and such-and-such,

3 2
(161) you know,

2 3 2 3 2
(162) and uh, he's gonna take care of my needs for the time being."

31
(163) Hey.

3 2 3 31
(164) You just a real whore.

2 41
(165) That's all.

2F 4F 2F 4F IN
(166) Cause she done already decided that out.

3N 2 3 2
(167) She said, "Okay,

31
(168) hey,

3 2 3F 2F 3F
(169) lookee here, all right,

W (170) say^{2F} hey^{3F},

(171) I^{2F} got my^{3F} car$^{2F\,3F}$,

(172) you^{2N} know^{2N}."

(173) What^{2N} hap^{3}pens^{2}?

(174) Turn^{2} it^{3} o^{2}ver^{2}.

(175) You^{3} dudes^{2} be drivin their^{4F} car^{1N}.

(176) Ri^{2}ght^{3}?

C (177) Uh^{2} huh^{3}.

W (178) You^{2} pimpin them$^{3F\,1N}$.

~~(179) Ri^{2}ght^{3}?~~

(180) Now^{2} what^{3} would happen^{2} if a chick^{3} decided^{2} at that^{4F} point^{2N}

(181) that^{2} she wants^{4} this^{1} to happen^{1}.

(182) Okay$^{2\,3}$?

(183) Minute^{2} you whup her ass$^{3\,2}$, she blow your head^{3} off^{1}.

(184) Then^{2} what happens then$^{3\,1}$?

(185) You^{4} ain't^{2} pimpin half these chicks^{3}.

(186) If^{2} they^{3} got^{2} their shit^{3} together$^{2\,3}$, you^{3F} ain't^{2N} pimpin nothin$^{4F\,1N}$! (comments)

C (187) You^{3} got^{2} to realize$^{3\,2}$,

(188) okay$^{2\,3}$, if^{2} you're^{3} drivin^{2} their^{3} car^{2},

(189) for^{2} a purpose$^{3\,1}$,

(190) I^{3} mean^{2},

W (191) Okay$^{3\,2}$, what^{3} is^{2} the purpose^{2}?

C (192) To^{2} game^{3} on^{2} some other^{3} broad$^{1\,1}$! (laughter)

(193) Or^{2} think^{3} you're^{2} gamin on some other broad, from the way you're^{3}
comin^{2} down, you see^{3} ...

W (194) Well^{2F}, who you gamin$^{3F\,2F}$ on if the chick's^{3F} already^{2F} knowin your
play$^{3\,2F}$.

W (195) and^{2F} all she^{3F} wants^{2F} ...

(196) Shit!$^{4F\ 1N}$

(197) You^{4F} got^{2N} to be puttin me on^{31}!

(198) Ain't^{3} no^{2} (inaudible) ain't that stupid^{3F}!

(199) You^{2F} got^{4F} to^{2F} be kiddin me, man^{23F}!

C (200) No!$^{31\ N}$

(201) I'm^{3} not^{2} sayin they all^{3} are^{23}.

(202) You^{3} get^{2} a broad hung up behind you enough^{2} ...

W (203) What!?^{4F}

C (204) In^{2} a^{3} minute$^{2\ 2}$.

W (205) Hung^{2F} up behind me enough$^{3F\ 2F}$!

C (206) Yeah^{2N}.

W (207) You^{2F} mean^{3F} to tell me, my sti, my stink don't shit that well^{4F}?

(208) My^{3F} shit don't stink that well^{3F}?

(209) Or^{3F} whichever way it go^{3F}?

(210) Ooh^{4F}, I'm^{3F} supposed^{2F} to be top^{3F} totem^{2F}, huh^{31F}?

(211) Ooh^{3F}, boy^{2N}, you^{3} got^{2} a rude^{3} lesson^{1} comin^{1}.

(212) You're^{3} gonna^{2} run up on one of them chicks^{3}, gonna^{2} just^{2} --

(213) Yeah^{31}, okay$^{3F\ 2F}$.

(214) She^{3N} ain't^{2} gonna ask you^{3} for^{2} shit^{31}.

(215) Ain't^{2} gonna ask you for a damn^{3} thing^{31}.

(216) They^{2} do it back East all the^{3} time^{1}. (comment)

W (217) Shit^{31}!

(218) You^{3} walk^{2} any^{3} metropolitan city back East^{2},

(219) and^{2} you^{3} get^{2} run into one of them ladies, 'bout^{2F} thirty-five^{3F}?

(220) They^{2N} love^{3} little^{2} dudes like you^{32}.

W (221) $\overset{2}{\text{They}}$ say, "$\overset{3}{\text{Oh}}$, $\overset{31}{\text{yeah}}$,

(222) $\overset{2}{\text{that's}}$ my $\overset{31}{\text{man}}$."   (comment)

(223) $\overset{2}{\text{They}}$ give you they $\overset{4F:}{\text{money}}$,

(224) $\overset{2F}{\text{let}}$ you drive they $\overset{3F:}{\text{car}}$,

(225) $\overset{2N}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$,

(226) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{gamin}}$,

(227) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{gamin}}$.

(228) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{jo'}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{see}}$,

(229) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{jo'}}$.

(230) $\overset{2}{\text{You're}}$ $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{hoppin}}$ and $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{skippin}}$,

(231) $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{hittin}}$ a $\overset{3}{\text{lick}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{over}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{here}}$,

(232) $\overset{3}{\text{hit}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ lick over $\overset{32}{\text{there}}$,

(233) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$,

(234) $\overset{2\ \ 3}{\text{understand}}$?

(235) $\overset{2\ 31}{\text{Okay}}$.

(236) $\overset{2\ 3}{\text{Mmhm}}$.

(237) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ she find out about $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$

(238) $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{hittin}}$ a lick over $\overset{32}{\text{there}}$,

(239) $\overset{2}{\text{your}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{ass's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{gonna}}$ be layin six feet in some $\overset{41}{\text{dirt}}$.

C (240) $\overset{3}{\text{Yeah}}$?

(241) $\overset{3F}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{2N}{\text{just}}$ about what $\overset{3}{\text{any}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{broad}}$,

(242) $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{gets}}$

(243) $\overset{2}{\text{hung}}$ up behind $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$,

(244) $\overset{3}{\text{she}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{will}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{blow}}$ you $\overset{3}{\text{away}}$,

(245) $\overset{2}{\text{if}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you're}}$ usin her $\overset{3::}{\text{ride}}$,

(246) $\overset{3}{\text{and}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{and}}$, uh, be $\overset{3}{\text{gamin}}$ on some $\overset{4}{\text{other}}$ $\overset{4:}{\text{broad}}$?

(247) $\overset{4F}{\text{That's}}$ ... $\overset{3F}{\text{what}}$?   (comment)

3F 2N 3 3 2 3 2
C (248) Well, uh, well, these, these hammers in Seattle,

2 3 1
(249) I mean, they're dizzy.

3F 2N 3F 2N 3F
(250) You got to realize that,

2N 3F 1N
(251) they slow.

2 3F2N
(252) They slow,

2N 3F 2N 3F
(253) the majority of 'em. (comment)

3N 2 3 2 3 2
W (254) Okay, well, I'll tell you one thing:

2 3 2 2
(255) keep on livin.

2 3 2
(256) Keep on that same road.

3 2 3 2 3 2
(257) You gonna run up on one of 'em, right here in Seattle.

2 3:: 3 1
(258) You be dead sapphires.

2 2
C (259) No, uh,

2
(260) man!

2 3 2 3 3: 1
W (261) Your shit gonna be duffed good.

2 3 4 2
(262) 'Cause the minute you jump off in her mess,

2 2
(263) **come tellin** her 'bout

3 3
(264) "I told you to ..."

2 3 2 2
(265) That's gonna do it!

2 3 3
C (266) Oh, man, tha, that's, that --

2 31
(267) check it out!

3F 2F 3F; 2F
W (268) Check it out! (comments)

3F 2N 3 2 31
(269) I know a dude knocked his old lady down.

2 2
(270) Told her, say,

3 2 3 2 2
(271) "I told you to do so and so."

41
(272) Bam!

2 31
C (273) She came out "Boom!"

2 32
W (274) Uh uh.

3 2 2
(275) No she didn't.

2 3 2 3 31
(276) She got up and whupped his natural ass.

2 3 2 2
(277) Got up, she says,

3 2 3 2 3 32
(278) "Uh oh, you shouldn't have done that."

2 3 31
(279) Got up and whipped his ass.

2 3
(280) Told him, / say, "Now git out this mother-fuckin house

2 3 3 1
(281) and go get me some money."

2 32
(282) Sure did!

2 3 31
(283) And he did.

2 3 4
(284) You know what he said?

3 2 3: 3 1
(285) That's a bad hammer! (laughs)

2 3 2 2
C (286) -- you do have hammers back East!

2F 3F
W (287) Back East!

3F 2F 3F 1F
(288) This happened right here in Seattle.

2N 32 31
C (289) Oh, hey, but check it out.

2 3
W (290) You know what?

2 3 2 3 2 4 1
(291) When they get through with Eve Wilson, you dudes got a problem.

2 3
C (292) You say what?

3 2 3 1
W (293) You got a problem.

3 3
(294) That chick?

3 1
(295) Shit!

3F 4F
(296) Half these young ladies around here?

3F 4F
(297) If we could get all of 'em comin in?

4F 2N
(298) Ooh!

2N: 23:
C (299) Oh, man!

2 3 2 2
W (300) Yeah, they have a game for you.

W (301) Bert^{3} can^{2} tell you that^{3} right^{2} now^{31}.

(302) They^{2} have some mess^{3} for^{1} you^{1}.

C (303) I^{3} mean^{2}, you^{4F} got^{2N} to realize$^{3F\,1N}$ though^{1} ... (shouting)

W (304) Think^{3} about^{1} it^{1}.

(305) Half^{3} the^{2} hammers^{3} you dudes know^{2}

(306) walk^{2} around here^{2},

(307) call^{2} themselves lookin good^{3}

(308) with^{2} some clothes^{3} on^{1} their back^{1}.

(309) That^{3} ain't^{2} showin me dick^{3} diddly^{2} shit^{31}!

(310) You^{2} dig^{3F} where I'm comin from^{3F}?

(311) Ain't^{3} showin^{2} me nothin^{31},

(312) you^{2} know^{3}?

(313) okay^{32}.

(314) Cause^{2} clothes^{3F} --

(315) you^{3N} can^{2} buy that^{2}.

(316) Look^{3} here^{2}, man^{2},

(317) it^{2} don't take^{3} nothin^{2} but a fool^{4F} to^{2N} go down to the Bon Marche^{3}
and^{2} open them a charge^{3} account^{11}.

(318) It^{2} don't take nothin^{3} to^{2} do^{3} that^{31}.

(319) No^{3} brains^{2} whatsoever^{31},

(320) just^{2} be able to write your^{3} name^{1}.

(321) Okay^{23}?

(322) Ain't^{2} nothin^{3} smart^{2} with that^{2},

(323) okay^{23}?

(324) Now^{31}, car^{23} ...

(325) that^{2} ain't shit either^{31}.

B (326) Cosign^{23}, or^{2} ...

23 3 2
WJ(327) Yo, ain't that.

3 2 3 31 1
(328) You can get that any kinda way,

23
(329) right?

23
(330) Right?

2 31
(331) Okay.

2F 3F 2F 2F
(332) First thing you dudes do,

2N 3 2 32
(333) like I been tellin you dudes about this before,

3 2 4F 2N 2
(334) don't even mess with no chick,

2 3
(335) less she's got a job,

2 3 2 3 32
(336) just like you tell, you'r tellin me,

2 3 2
(337) number one,

2 4F
(338) or she's goin to school,

2N 3 2 2
(339) got some parents is backin her up a little, like,

2 3 2
(340) number two,

2 3 2 3 2 2
(341) or she's got, halfway got her mess together,

2 3 2 3 2 3 1
(342) and she don't have to worry at that point,

2 3 2 410 1 1
(343) cause she's got her head on right.

32
(344) Then,

2 4 1 1
(345) you can kinda deal with her.

2 3 2
(346) And that way,

2 32 32
(347) you can say, hey, lookee here,

2 3 2
(348) uh, when I'm workin,

3 2 2
(349) you know, uh,

2 3 2 2
(350) my hammer's gonna be at home,

3 2 2
(351) you know, uh,

3 1 1
(352) woofin an shit.

W(353) $\overset{3}{\text{She}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{gonna}}$ be tryin to get somethin $\overset{3\,/}{\text{goin}}$.

(354) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ know, and $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ come $\overset{3}{\text{home}}$,

(355) $\overset{2}{\text{everything}}$ is $\overset{4}{\text{mellow}}$,

(356) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{understand}}$?

(357) $\overset{2}{\text{My}}$ bathwater's $\overset{4F}{\text{ready}}$,

(358) $\overset{2}{\text{my}}$ dinner's $\overset{3}{\text{cooked}}$,

(359) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{understand}}$?

(360) $\overset{31}{\text{Hey}}$.

(361) $\overset{32}{\text{Then}}$ you start treatin $\overset{32}{\text{her}}$ ...

B (362) $\overset{2}{\text{It}}$ $\overset{3!!}{\text{does}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{sound}}$ kinda $\overset{32}{\text{nice}}$. (comments)

W (363) $\overset{3}{\text{What}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{happens}}$ on $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{/}{\text{guys'}}$ $\overset{/}{\text{side}}$?

(364) $\overset{2}{\text{First}}$ thing $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{do}}$ ...

B (365) $\overset{2}{\text{What}}$ happens if you ain't got no money to $\overset{3}{\text{buy}}$ $\overset{/}{\text{no}}$ $\overset{/}{\text{dinner}}$?

W (366) $\overset{2}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{right}}$.

(367) $\overset{2}{\text{First}}$ thing $\overset{3\,2}{\text{happens}}$,

(368) $\overset{32}{\text{okay}}$,

B (369) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ you get your $\overset{3\,/}{\text{water}}$ cut $\overset{/}{\text{off}}$.

W (370) $\overset{31}{\text{Yeah}}$. (laughter)

C (371) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ in $\overset{3::}{\text{bad}}$ $\overset{/}{\text{shape}}$,

(372) $\overset{24::}{\text{bad}}$ $\overset{/}{\text{shape}}$.

W (373) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, so, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$,

(374) $\overset{2H}{\text{and}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{nine}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{times}}$ out of $\overset{32}{\text{ten}}$,

(375) $\overset{2L}{\text{like}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{said}}$,

(376) $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ $\overset{3\,2}{\text{majority}}$ of chicks runnin around here are just plain $\overset{4\,/}{\text{stupid}}$.

C (377) $\overset{2F}{\text{Well}}$, $\overset{3F\cdot}{\text{ain't}}$ that what I $\overset{4F}{\text{said}}$?

W(378) $\overset{3N}{\text{We}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{agree}}$, no, $\overset{3}{\text{we}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{agree}}$ on that $\overset{3}{\text{premise}}$.

(379) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ you know $\overset{3}{\text{why}}$?

W (380) $\overset{2}{\text{Cause}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{nine}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{times}}$ out of $\overset{3}{\text{ten}}$,

(381) $\overset{3}{\text{they}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ain't}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{sho}}\overset{2}{\text{win}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{me}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{no}}\overset{3}{\text{thin}}$.

(382) $\overset{2}{\text{At}}$ $\overset{3F/N}{\text{all}}$.

(383) $\overset{3}{\text{Half}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{these}}$ little old twenty-$\overset{3}{\text{nine}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{twen}}$ty-eight, twenty-$\overset{2}{\text{nine}}$ ..

(384) $\overset{2}{\text{these}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{my}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{age}}$ bracket $\overset{1}{\text{now}}$,

(385) $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$,

C (386) $\overset{2}{\text{My}}$ age $\overset{32}{\text{too}}$.

W (387) $\overset{32}{\text{Yeah}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{o}}\overset{2}{\text{kay}}$.

(388) ... $\overset{2}{\text{got}}$, got $\overset{31}{\text{kids}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(389) $\overset{2}{\text{Half}}$ the $\overset{2}{\text{time}}$,

(390) $\overset{2}{\text{they}}$ so busy $\overset{3}{\text{par}}\overset{2}{\text{tyin}}$,

(391) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ under$\overset{2}{\text{stand}}$,

(392) $\overset{3}{\text{they}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ain't}}$ takin care of their $\overset{4}{\text{home}}\overset{1}{\text{work}}$,

(393) $\overset{1}{\text{you}}$ under$\overset{1}{\text{stand}}$.

(394) $\overset{3}{\text{O}}\overset{1}{\text{kay}}$.

(395) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{come}}$ jumpin th'ough the front $\overset{31}{\text{door}}$.

(396) $\overset{2}{\text{First}}$ thing I run into is a shitty $\overset{3}{\text{dia}}\overset{1}{\text{per}}$.

(397) $\overset{2}{\text{First}}$ thing that lets $\overset{3}{\text{me}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$

(398) $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ bitch ain't $\overset{31}{\text{clean}}$.

(399) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ under$\overset{3}{\text{stand}}$?

(400) $\overset{3}{\text{She}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ain't}}$ got $\overset{3}{\text{sense}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{enough}}$ to keep her $\overset{3}{\text{off}}\overset{2}{\text{spring}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{clean}}$,

(401) $\overset{2}{\text{how}}$ in the hell's she gonna keep $\overset{4F}{\text{herself}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{clean}}$?

(402) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{3F}{\text{see}}$ where I'm comin $\overset{4F}{\text{from}}$?

(403) $\overset{2N}{\text{O}}\overset{31}{\text{kay}}$.

(404) $\overset{2}{\text{Walk}}$ off in the $\overset{3:}{\text{bath}}$,

(405) $\overset{2}{\text{sit}}$ $\overset{3:}{\text{down}}$,

(406) $\overset{3}{\text{ash}}\overset{1}{\text{tray's}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{dirty}}$.

W (407) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{uh}}$,

(408) $\overset{3}{\text{di}}\overset{2}{\text{shes}}$ in the $\overset{31}{\text{sink}}$.

(409) $\overset{2}{\text{Well}}$, God $\overset{41}{\text{damn}}$!

(410) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$,

(411) $\overset{2}{\text{Well}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{she's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{supposed}}$ to $\overset{4F}{\text{know}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{bet}}\overset{1}{\text{ter}}$.

(412) $\overset{2}{\text{She's}}$ supposed to $\overset{3F}{\text{know}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{bet}}\overset{1}{\text{ter}}$.

(413) $\overset{2}{\text{Her}}$ $\overset{3F}{\text{man's}}$ comin $\overset{3F}{\text{over}}$,

(414) $\overset{2F}{\text{her}}$ mess's supposed to be $\overset{4F}{\text{toge}}\overset{1F}{\text{ther}}$.

(415) $\overset{2N}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{know}}$?

(416) $\overset{2}{\text{When}}$ $\overset{3F}{\text{I}}$ take her $\overset{3F}{\text{someplace}}$,

(417) $\overset{3F}{\text{I}}$ don't want to have to be ashamed $\overset{2F}{\text{of}}$

(418) "$\overset{1N}{\text{Duhhhh}}$."

(419) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{3F}{\text{ask}}$ her $\overset{3F}{\text{somethin}}$.

(420) "$\overset{1N}{\text{Duhhh}}$."

(421) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(422) $\overset{3}{\text{How}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{many}}$ times you dudes run into $\overset{31}{\text{that}}$?

(423) $\overset{2}{\text{Take}}$ her down to the $\overset{3}{\text{mov}}\overset{1}{\text{ie}}$.

(424) $\overset{3}{\text{Don't}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{act}}$, don't $\overset{3}{\text{act}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{like}}$ you're gonna, $\overset{3}{\text{she's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{gonna}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{say}}$.

(425) $\overset{2}{\text{Go}}$ Dutch $\overset{3}{\text{treat}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{'n}}$ see what $\overset{3}{\text{hap}}\overset{1}{\text{pens}}$.

(426) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{go}}$ down to the $\overset{3}{\text{mov}}\overset{1}{\text{ie}}$.

(427) "$\overset{23}{\text{Hey}}$, how'd you enjoy the $\overset{3}{\text{mov}}\overset{2}{\text{ie}}$?"

(428) "$\overset{1}{\text{Duhhhh}}$."

(429) $\overset{3F\,2F}{\text{Oh}}$, $\overset{4F}{\text{man}}$!

(430) $\overset{4F\,2N}{\text{Hey}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$!

B (431) "$\overset{1}{\text{Duhhhh}}$!" (scuffing his feet, imitating the girl)

(432) "$\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{dun}}\overset{23}{\text{nno}}$." (shouting)

C (433) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{got}}$ to $\overset{3}{\text{re}}\overset{2}{\text{alize}}$,

3 2 3 1
C (434) there's two types of women.

3 2 2
W (435) No I ain't.

3 2 3 3
C (436) There's the women.

3 2
(437) okay.

3 2 3 3 1
(438) you go out for two types of women.

4F 2N
W (439) I don't.

4F 2N 4F 1N
(440) I go out for one type. (shouting)

3 2 3 1
C (441) Most people go after two types of women.

2 3
W (442) Okay, ones you can use,

2 31
(443) and ones you can't.

31:
C (444) No.

3
(445) One,

2 3 1
(446) for your lady.

2 3 1
(447) For your lady.

3 1
W (448) Okay. (comments)

2 3 2 3 2 2
C (449) I mean, it come, it comes to the same point, what you said,

2 3 2 3 2
(450) and the other one's just, just for

2 3 2 3 1 2
(451) what's, whatever you got on your mind, or

2 3 2 3 1 1
(452) the spur of the moment thing,

2 3 1 1
(453) one of them type of women.

31
W (454) Oh,

3 2
(455) okay.

3 2 2
(456) Wait a minute.

2 3 1 1
(457) What's she thinkin about?

3 2 32
C (458) I don't know.

2 4F 2N 2
(459) She ain't thinkin about gettin in my pocket, though,

2 3F 2N
(460) can say that much.

2 4F 4F 2N 4F 2N 3 1
C (461) Cause I, I tell, I tell a broad from the git-go,

3F 3F
(462) if things are cool,

2N 3 3F 3F
(463) I, I mean, I, I don', don't need no hammer,

2N 3 2 3 2 3 2 3: 2 2
(464) that's gonna try to slyly get in my pocket,

2 2
(465) or gonna go round

2 3 2 3 2 2
(466) and call herself halfway gamin on me,

2 3 2 3 2
(467) because I mean, I'm not gonna come back with her and argue about

3
nothin.

4F 2N 3 1
(468) I just step out the picture.

2 4 2
(469) Because I ain't got to,

2 3 3
(470) I ain't got to raise my voice to no broad.

3 2 2
(471) I sit back.

2 3 2 3
(472) She, she want to argue and all that, I:

23
(473) "Yeah,

2 3
(474) uh huh,

23
(475) yeah."

2 3 3:1
(476) And I'm gone.

2 3 2 31
W (477) Uh, but see, you're doin the same thing.

1
(478) "Yeah,

1 1
(479) uh huh

1
(480) yeah."

2 4 2 3 31
(481) See, that's the same shit.

41 3 2 41
C (482) No, that's on a different point.

2F 3F 2F 3F 2F
W (483) Ain't no different point!

4F 2F 4F 2F
(484) Damn all that!

2N 3 2 3 2 31
(485) Okay, but what do we expect?

2
B (486) "Duhhhhh."

C (487) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ say $\overset{3}{\text{what}}$?

W (488) $\overset{3}{\text{What}}$, what $\overset{2}{\text{do}}$ we $\overset{31}{\text{expect}}$?

(489) $\overset{2}{\text{As}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{men}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{what}}$ do we expect from our $\overset{3}{\text{wo}}\overset{1}{\text{men}}$?

(490) $\overset{4}{\text{We}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{expect}}$ our women to $\overset{3}{\text{have}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{themselves}}$ $\text{to}\overset{3}{\text{geth}}\overset{1}{\text{er}}$.

(491) $\overset{2}{\text{We}}$ don't $\overset{3}{\text{want}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{no}}$ more $\overset{41}{\text{fools}}$.

(492) $\overset{23}{\text{Right}}$?

(493) $\overset{2}{\text{We}}$ don't $\overset{3}{\text{want}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{no}}$ chick $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$,

(494) $\overset{31}{\text{hey}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{lookee}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{here}}$.

(495) $\overset{2}{\text{It}}$ don't take but a $\overset{3}{\text{hot}}$ $\text{se}\overset{3}{\text{co}}\overset{2}{\text{nd}}$

(496) $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ jump off into $\overset{3}{\text{bed}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{with}}$ one of $\overset{1}{\text{'em}}$.

(497) $\overset{4F}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{23N}{\text{all}}$.

(498) $\overset{3}{\text{Take}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ hot $\overset{3}{\text{second}}$.

(499) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{half}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{of}}$ 'em, you meet 'em out here in the $\overset{32}{\text{street}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{they}}$

got hot $\overset{::}{\text{pants}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{any}}\overset{1}{\text{way}}$.

B (500) $\overset{2}{\text{Yeah}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{de}}\overset{1}{\text{fin}}\text{itel}\overset{1}{\text{y}}$.

W (501) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$, $\overset{4F}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2F}{\text{ain't}}$ out to con them outa $\overset{3F}{\text{no}}\overset{1F}{\text{thin}}$,

(502) $\overset{2N}{\text{cause}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{they're}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{gonna}}$ give it to you $\overset{3}{\text{any}}\overset{1}{\text{how}}$.

(503) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$,

(504) $\overset{23}{\text{okay}}$?

(505) $\overset{2}{\text{So}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{who's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{gamin}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{who}}$?

(506) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$, jump $\overset{2}{\text{off}}$ in her $\overset{3}{\text{pants}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{know}}$,

(507) $\overset{2}{\text{and}}$ about, and you get $\overset{3}{\text{through}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{and}}$ she $\overset{2}{\text{says}}$,

(508) "$\overset{3F}{\text{How}}$ you like $\overset{2F}{\text{it}}$ $\overset{3F}{\text{baby}}$?"

(509) "$\overset{1N}{\text{Duhhh}}$."

(510) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(511) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ say "Well, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{was}}$,

(512) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{watched}}$ the $\overset{3}{\text{moon}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{shot}}$ last $\overset{1}{\text{week}}$.

```
         1     2                         3
W  (513) Uh, what'd you think about the moon ..."
           1
   (514) "Duhh."
          2     3    2
   (515) Well, you know.
          2      3      2
   (516) Well, lookee here,
          2              3 2       3                      2
   (517) the, the, the economy is really messin with my check.
          2   32  3           2
   (518) The Man sure enough is
          3              31
   (519) messin with my check.
          2         3   2             2
   (520) You know, I'm just payin so much ...
           1
   (521) "Duhhh."
         42  24F  3N 1
   (522) Oh, man, shit!
         4F 1N                           1
   (523) I don't care if you fuck these hanks.
          3F  3N 1
   (524) Man, shit!
         2      4F 1N
   (525) I tell you,
          2                     4F 1N
   (526) cause this is what I'm seein.
           2                                    2
   (527) This is what I'm seein, half of these dudes,
          2    3
   (528) you know.
           2                    23:   3  1
   (529) Chick walk down here, clean mother!
          3    2                   31
   (530) You know, outside lookin good.
          2    3                                 2    4           1
   (531) You strip them clothes off that bitch, and funkier'n a dog!

                     (shouting)
          2   3             3
C  (532) And when that happens --
         2  3     31
   (533) I got to go.
          2       41
   (534) And I'm gone!
         3  2                 31
   (535) I got to go and I'm gone!
          2    31    2      32   4F 2N            3
   (536) But still, like I said, I can come down here
          2   3         2
   (537) and get, get, well,
          3                 3
   (538) you said next Thursday?
```

          32
C (539) When?

          2   3   2   3   2   32
  (540) Well, I won't be here till around five. (comment)

        3 2
W (541) Okay.

SESSION THREE -- BLACK ENGLISH

The following conversational excerpts occurred in a discussion led by Planned Parenthood representative Eve Wilson; other participants were Rosita and Coolidge, and Nina.

* * * * * * * * *

R (1) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ say you $\overset{3}{\text{like}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{it}}$?

C (2) $\overset{2}{\text{That}}$ ain't supposed to be my $\overset{32}{\text{bag}}$.

(3) $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$?

(4) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{tell}}$ me what $\overset{3}{\text{my}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{bag's}}$ supposed to $\overset{1}{\text{be}}$.

eve I can't tell you that. (comments)

C (5) $\overset{23}{\text{Well}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{it's}}$ the same, $\overset{3}{\text{it's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ same way that a young lady could say that $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{another}}$ young lady is $\overset{31}{\text{cute}}$.

(6) $\overset{2}{\text{but}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$, uh, one dude don't say that $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{another}}$ dude, he's $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{handsome}}$.

eve Oh yes they do. (comments) Yes they do, they say that's a bad-lookin dude. They don't come down with "Oh he's cute," hell no! But they say "That's a bad-looking dude." Or they say, "Man, he got a bad pair o' pants. Man, where you get them slacks from? Wow, man, them shoes are such-and-such and such-and-such. Where'd you get that belt man?" Don't be tellin me dudes don't look at dudes. I know who you be talkin to. I ain't no fool!

C (7) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{was}}$...

eve Wow, that's a bad hat, you know. Where'd you get that?

C (8) $\overset{1}{\text{Wow}}$.

eve (comments) what kinda socks you got on? Hey, man, nylon? Hey, man you know, I been (sniff) meanin to get me a pair o' them, you know, ah, wow, you know." How far do they go? Right to the underwear!

C (9) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{good}}$ imi$\overset{1}{\text{ta}}$$\overset{1}{\text{tor}}$.

(10) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ know $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$?

eve Right down to the underwear.

C (11) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{beautiful}}$ imi$\overset{1}{\text{ta}}$$\overset{1}{\text{tor}}$.

eve Still comes down to the underwear.

C (12) $\overset{2}{\text{Comes}}$ down to $\overset{3}{\text{what}}$?

eve Right down to the underwear.

C (13) $\overset{3}{\text{You're}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{beautiful}}$ imi$\overset{1}{\text{ta}}$$\overset{1}{\text{tor}}$.

eve Thank you. But you're evading the subject.

C (14) $\overset{2}{\text{Is}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{that}}$ what I'm $\overset{3}{\text{doin}}$?

eve Exactly.

C (15) $\overset{32}{\text{Damn}}$.

(16) $\overset{2}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{evading}}$ the $\overset{1}{\text{subject}}$,

(17) $\overset{2}{\text{huh}}$?

eve Guys often see all these fellas with the hats.

C (18) $\overset{2}{\text{Cocked}}$ over to the side, kinda like $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$...

eve Yes, sir, yes, sir, yes, sir!

C (19) $\overset{2}{\text{Make}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{sure}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ can't see their $\overset{3\,2}{\text{eyes}}$,

(20) $\overset{2}{\text{cause}}$ nine out o' ten $\overset{32}{\text{times}}$, they, they're, $\overset{1}{\text{um}}$, $\overset{32}{\text{well}}$...

eve Every time they see my eyes, I see theirs.

C (21) $\overset{2}{\text{Not}}$ neces$\overset{3}{\text{sa}}$$\overset{2}{\text{ri}}$ly.

eve Every time.

C (22) $\overset{2}{\text{Can}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ see my eyes $\overset{3}{\text{now}}$? }

eve I see your eyes, I see your eyes. }

C (23) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can}}$

see $\overset{3}{\text{part}}$ of this eye $\overset{32}{\text{here}}$,

(24) $\overset{3}{\text{that's}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it}}$.

eve Yeah, that's the eye that you can see me with.

C (25) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can}}$ see you with this eye $\overset{2\,3}{\text{here}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{too.}}$

eve You can't see my face.

C (26) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{close}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{this}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{eye.}}$

(27) $\overset{2}{\text{Oh}}$ $\overset{21}{\text{shit!}}$

eve Oh hey, wait a minute, honey, back up, I've worn a hat too, you know. Mama play the same game. Mama play the same game sweetheart. (laughs)

C (28) $\overset{2}{\text{What}}$ can I $\overset{31}{\text{say?}}$

eve Yes.

C (29) $\overset{31}{\text{Wow.}}$

eve Yes. See, and this is what I'm tryin to tell you. (to girls) You can play the same game. The same way,

C (30) $\overset{32}{\text{Try.}}$

eve with just a little twist. No, not try. I said they can.

C (31) $\overset{31}{\text{Try.}}$

(32) $\overset{2}{\text{with}}$ $\overset{3\;\;2}{\text{experience,}}$ but at the $\overset{3}{\text{git-go,}}$ $\overset{4F}{\text{they}}$ $\overset{3N\,1}{\text{tryin.}}$

eve All right. Same as us.

C (33) $\overset{2}{\text{Same}}$ as $\overset{3}{\text{who}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{us?}}$

eve The same as us.

C (34) $\overset{2}{\text{The}}$ same as $\overset{3}{\text{who}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{us?}}$

eve The same as you and I.

C (35) $\overset{31}{\text{Oh,}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{well}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{shit,}}$

(36) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{ain't}}$ $\overset{3\,1}{\text{tryin.}}$

(37) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$ the $\overset{31}{\text{game.}}$

eve Yeah, you still tryin, sweetheart. You have no game.

C (38) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ know $\overset{1}{\text{the}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{game.}}$

eve No, you don't. You don't know the whole game.

C (39) $\overset{2}{\text{Scuse}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{me}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ schoolin $\overset{31}{\text{me}}$.

eve You got quite a bit down.

C (40) $\overset{2}{\text{Ex}}\overset{3}{\text{cuse}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{me}}$.

eve And you gettin more. Each and every day you get more knowledge.

C (41) $\overset{4F}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{4F}{\text{am}}$?

eve You know you are.

C (42) $\overset{3N}{\text{Damn}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{thou}}\overset{2}{\text{ght}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\text{thou}\overset{2}{\text{ght}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{learned}}$ all that $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{needed}}$ to $\overset{2}{\text{learn}}$.

eve Cause each and every day you come in with some new people.

C (43) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{what}}$?

eve You, you sit down and check things out and say, "Hm! Such-and-such and such-and-such. Now let me see. Where is this person comin from? Hm. Well, I know how to deal with this. Like this." And you say, "Well, hm, such-and-such and such-and-such."

C (44) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ nine outa $\overset{3}{\text{ten}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ reason I $\overset{3}{\text{know}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{how}}$ to deal with this-and--
$\overset{32}{\text{this}}$ is because I already $\overset{3}{\text{deal}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{with}}$ it $\text{be}\overset{2}{\text{fore}}$,

(45) $\overset{2}{\text{so}}$ it's no new $\text{ex}\overset{3}{\text{pe}}\text{r}\overset{1}{\text{ience}}$ to $\overset{1}{\text{me}}$.

eve Wait a minute, wait a minute, wait.

C (46) $\overset{2}{\text{O}}\overset{3}{\text{kay}}$, I'll $\overset{2}{\text{wait}}$ ti, wait till $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{4}{\text{fini}}\overset{2}{\text{shed}}$.

eve You come back you come back...

eve Check it out when he walks out.

C (47) $\overset{4}{\text{Hell}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{yes}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{he}}$-

(48) $\overset{3}{\text{how}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ want me to $\overset{32}{\text{strut}}$?

(49) $\overset{3}{\text{How}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ want me to $\overset{32}{\text{strut}}$?

(50) $\overset{4}{\text{How}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ want me to $\overset{31}{\text{strut}}$?

eve Strut like you usually strut.

```
        2   3                       3F  3N   3
C (51) You want me to put a little lean into it?
eve No, honey, no, no, no
       2  3                   4F    4F
C (52) I can't put a little lean to it?
eve Just go the way you usually go.  That's cool enough.
        2N    32            3  2            4F  3N   3
C (53) But, damn, I mean if I can't put no lean into it...
       3 2   3 2   3     2           3 2      2
  (54) Okay, okay, I'll go the way I usually go.
         2        3                            3
  (55) That, is that good enough to start off with?
                (shouting)
eve You eased out!  You eased out!
         4           2    2
C (56) What you talkin about?
         3                         1  1
  (57) That's the way I walk all the time.
       3     1   1
  (58) All the time.
       3     2        31
  (59) I never strut fast.
        2       3  2       3     2                          3F 2N
  (60) Because my life is fast, so ain't no use me goin fast too.
       4  2   31
  (61) I go slow.
        2 3  2    3   2   3   1
  (62) So I catch up with my life.  (comments)
       3  2   3   2        3     2
  (63) I don, I don't overdo my life.
       3  2     3    1        1
R (64) I don't like no dirty dude.
       3        2
  (65) Bothers me.
       3    1:
  (66) It does.
       2        3             1
  (67) I don't like nobody dirty.
         3                          2  3    1
  (68) They can't be clean like me, forget 'em.
       3  2              231:
  (69) I want somethin clean.
       3  1
  (70) I do.
       2  3     2              2
  (71) I don't want nothin dirty.
       2    3   2          3  2           3    2        2
  (72) If they dirty, man, I don't got to live with the mess.
```

R (73) In our house, my mother would kill our, my brothers (inaudible) funky anything.
(74) She smell 'em when they're comin, she gonna tell 'em, and embarrass 'em too.
(75) I laugh.
(76) Ain't got no business bein funky.
(77) Stayed up two weeks?
(78) What if she can't get out?
(79) But, you know, there's
(80) okay, you mean you like, like, okay
(81) say like if they were walkin an she was tellin him all about that stuff before they got to the apartment,
(82) then what if he said I ain't got it on my mind.
N (83) But what if, what if (inaudible) earlier,
(84) before, you know, like,
(85) if he told her earlier, and he say well you know what we're gonna do when we get to the apartment,
(86) then what's she, is she gonna talk up there?
R (87) The other day, uh, you know, I have a swimming class,
(88) uh, I have it first period,
(89) and the boys in there,
(90) they so filthy, you know.
(91) I was gettin out of the swimmin pool.
(92) This boy kept on tal...
(93) I didn't pay no attention to him,
(94) he say I'mo stick y-
(95) I'mo stick my dick in you,

R (96) I^{2} said you^{3} wish^{3}.

(97) I^{2} thought^{3} to^{2} cuss^{3} him^{2},

(98) there^{2} was some teachers$^{3\,1}$ in there^{1}.

(99) I^{2} just said you^{3} wish an^{2} walked^{3} off^{31}.

(100) I^{3} call^{2} 'em a ninth grade punk^{31}.

(101) Hell^{32}, now, he^{4F} had^{2N} the nerve^{3} to^{2} say^{3} it^{2} to me^{2};

(102) he^{3} was^{2} a little$^{3\,1}$ ol guy^{1}.

(103) I^{3} didn't^{2} do nuttin^{3} to^{1} him^{1}.

(104) I^{2} hate^{4} the^{1} boy^{1}!

(105) he^{2} bothers$^{3\,1}$ me^{1}.

(106) He^{3} gits^{2} on my^{3} nerves^{31}.

(107) I^{3} cou^{2}, I^{3} couldn't^{2} say nothing^{3} else^{3} but^{3} that^{1}.

R (108) ... this^{2} girl^{3} partyin$^{2\,2}$,

(109) this^{2} boy, well^{1}, shoot^{2}, he^{3} saw^{2} all these other$^{3\,2}$ boys lookin
at this girl^{3},

(110) and^{2} she had a real^{3} short dress^{1} on^{1},

(111) and^{2} they were slow^{3} dancing, you know^{3};

(112) He^{2} started$^{3\,2}$ brushing that girl's dress up$^{3\,2}$ so all the boys^{3}
could^{2} see^{2}.

(113) The^{2} stupid^{3} girl^{32} didn't even pull^{3} her^{2} dress^{3} down^{31}.

(114) I^{3} just^{2} laughed^{31}.

(115) I^{2} couldn't do anything but^{3} laugh^{32}.

(116) She^{2} was crazy$^{3\,2}$ not to pull it down^{32}.

(117) You^{3} know^{2} **Harold**^{3}, **Bobby's** brother^{3}?

(118) **Harold?**$^{2\,3}$

(119) Yeah^{31}.

(120) You^{2} know, Mr. **Waterford**$^{3\,2}$ gave a dance^{3} up here^{3},

3 3
R (121) you know?

4 2 3 2 31 1
(122) I was dancin with this boy, you know.

3 2 3 1 1
(123) He was slow dancin.

1 2 3 2 3 2 3 2 3 3
(124) So, I had you know, I had my jeans on with some old blouse,

2 3 32
(125) it wasn't tucked,

2 31
(126) was outside my pants.

4 2 3 3 2 3 32
(127) He started takin his hand in my blouse,

2 3 2 32 3:1 1
(128) an I took it down and put it where it was sposed to be.

(comments)

2 3 2 3 2 3 1
(129) An he tried to do the same thing to my sister.

2F 4F2F
(130) Was Cookie too!

2N 4 2 2
(131) Was all three of us.

34
(132) Yeah?

2 3 2 31
(133) He did it to your sister, too.

32 3 2 3 2 3
(134) Boys, seems like when they be slow dancin, they be a-huffin

2 3 2 23
and puffin, like a fool.

2 3 2
(135) An I was dancin with one boy,

3 2 3 1 1
(136) he was makin a mess outa me.

3 2 3 2 3 2
(137) I said you squeezin me tight,

3 2 3 2
(138) you squeezin me too tight,

3 2 3 2
(139) you gotta let me go.

3 2 31
(140) I jes couldn't breathe,

3 2 2
(141) I couldn't hardly breathe hardly any more.

2 3 2 3 2 3 31
(142) I just out up with him awhile, you know, long as I could.

3 2 3 2 3 2
(143) I couldn't hassle that boy.

3 2 3 2 2
(144) He was squeezin me too tight.

R (145) 2 3 2 3 2 3 2
I wasn't gonna say anything cause I thought maybe it would
32
make him feel bad,

(146) 2 3 2 3 1
but, I had to say somethin.

(147) 3 2 3 2 3 2 2
He was squeezin me too tight.

(148) 3 2 3 2 3 2 2
I won't dance in no crowded party,

(149) 3 2 3 3
you can't get your way around,

(150) 3 2 3 2 3 2
you be mashed all into the crowd, you know,

(151) 2 3 2 3
pretty soon dude gonna get hot,

(152) 2 3 2 3 2 3 2 3 1 1
if he don't even know you he gonna ask you for sumpin.

(153) 2 3 4 2 4 2 32 3
So if the party's crowded, I can't get my way around, I
2 31
don't dance,

(154) 3 2 31
I'm just gonna watch.

(155) 2 3 2 3 2 31
Sit up there in the corner, watch, an laugh, an eat.

(156) 3 2 3 2
Don't dance in no crowded parties.

(157) 2 1
Ummmm.

(158) 2 3 2
I danced one time ... (inaudible)

(159) 3 2 4 2
I was dancin with one boy,

(160) 3 2 3 31 2 2
he was real tall, you know,

(161) 3 2 3 2 3 3
I was down here anhe was way up here;

(162) 3 3
he was slow dancin,

(163) 2 3 2 3 32 31
an he said, I can't find your crack.

(164) 3 2 3 2 32 3 2 3 3
I didn't know what to say so I didn't say anything,

(165) 2 3 2 4 2 3 1
but I just, you know, I just stopped dancin.

(166) 3 2 3 2
He was too tall for me in the first place,

(167) 2 2
I don't even,

(168) 2 3 2
I don't know what he was lookin for (inaudible) but he don't
3 32
get nothin from me.

R (169) $\overset{2}{\text{But}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{he}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{said}}$ I can't find your $\overset{3/}{\text{crack}}$,

(170) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ know, $\overset{23}{\text{tall}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{and}}$ just as $\overset{3}{\text{ugly}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{as}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ want $\overset{/}{\text{him}}$ to $\overset{/}{\text{be}}$.

(171) $\overset{2}{\text{He}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{had}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{nerve}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{say}}$ that $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{me}}$.

SESSION FOUR -- FORMAL INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES WATERFORD

(E In this discussion, what were you trying to tell them about women?)

W (1) Ba^{3}sica^{2}lly, that they're not fo^{31}ols.

(2) Thi^{3}s i^{2}s basically what's ha^{3}ppe^{1}ning^{1}.

(3) No^{23}, bu^{2}t se^{3}e

(4) Mo^{3}st you^{2}ng peo^{3}ple^{2}

(5) you^{2}ng bla^{31}cks, spe^{2}ci^{3}fi^{1}cally^{1},

(6) whe^{2}n they ge^{3}t i^{2}nto a co^{3}nfro^{2}ntation like this,

(7) i^{2}t's a, sor^{3}ta^{2} like an a^{3}rgu^{2}me^{3}nta^{2}tive po^{3}in^{2}t

(8) to^{2} the^{31}m,

(9) whe^{2}n the^{3}y get into thi^{2}s thing, you ha^{3}ve to find ou^{2}t where his le^{3}vera^{1}ge is^{1}.

(10) Whe^{2}re his hea^{3}d is^{1}, now^{1}.

(11) O^{3}ka^{2}y,

(12) whe^{2}n you do^{3} this^{2}, yo^{3}u don't know ho^{2}w this is going to come o^{31}ut.

(13) Yo^{2}u don't have any ide^{31}a,

(14) whe^{2}re you're gonna come out o^{1}n this thi^{1}ng.

(15) So^{2} what you do^{3} is^{2},

(16) u^{2}nle^{3}ss you^{2} have a ba^{3}si^{2}s for how to thi^{32}nk, and rea^{3}so^{1}n ve^{2}ry very we^{31}ll,

(17) the^{2}n you ca^{3}n't, you^{2} rea^{3}lly ca^{2}n't do a^{3}nythi^{1}ng.

(E Okay, what were you trying to prove to them in this?)

W (18) O^{3}ka^{2}y.

(19) Ba^{3}sica^{2}lly, mo^{3}ne^{2}y,

(20) i^{2}n thi^{3}s ca^{2}se the wo^{3}ma^{2}n's mone^{2}y,

W (21) $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{her}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{money}}$.

(22) $\overset{1}{\text{If}}$ you understand what I mean $\overset{1}{\text{now}}$.

(23) $\overset{2}{\text{It's}}$ $\overset{\cancel{3}}{\text{not}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$, a, a $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{pimping}}$, or a $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{using}}$ type of $\overset{3}{\text{thing}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{here}}$.

(24) $\overset{2}{\text{It}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{is}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{she}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{makes}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{decision}}$,

(25) $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{be}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{used}}$,

(26) $\overset{2}{\text{if}}$ you $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{understand}}$ what I $\overset{3}{\text{mean}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{now}}$.

(27) $\overset{2}{\text{So}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{this}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$ the reason $\overset{32}{\text{why}}$,

(28) $\overset{2\ 3}{\text{attempting}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ understand $\overset{3}{\text{where}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ youngster $\overset{31}{\text{is}}$,

(29) $\overset{2}{\text{then}}$ talking in $\overset{3}{\text{his}}$ $\overset{2\ 2}{\text{language}}$,

(30) $\overset{3}{\text{breaking}}$ the $\overset{2}{\text{words}}$,

(31) $\overset{2}{\text{using}}$ $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{different}}$ $\overset{3\ 2\ 2}{\text{soliloquies}}$,

(32) $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, different $\overset{3}{\text{sets}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{of}}$, of $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{sentences}}$,

(33) $\overset{2}{\text{using}}$ $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{different}}$, complete $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{different}}$ $\overset{4\ 1\ 1}{\text{vocabulary}}$,

(34) $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{really}}$,

(35) $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, than my $\overset{4\ 1}{\text{normal}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{vocabulary}}$.

(36) $\overset{2}{\text{Of}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{trying}}$ to $\overset{2}{\text{understand}}$ and trying to get $\overset{3}{\text{them}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{to}}$
$\overset{1}{\text{understand}}$,

(37) $\overset{3}{\text{what}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{saying}}$.

(E What do you think Coolidge's attitude is about women?)

W (38) $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{Nowhere}}$.

(39) $\overset{2\ 3{:}{:}{:}\ 1}{\text{Nowhere}}$.

(40) $\overset{3}{\text{This}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{guy}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$,

(41) $\overset{2}{\text{he}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{he's}}$ a $\overset{41}{\text{dud}}$.

(42) $\overset{2}{\text{He's}}$ a $\overset{31}{\text{dud}}$.

(43) $\overset{2}{\text{He}}$, he's, he's $\overset{3}{\text{heading}}$ $\overset{2\ 2}{\text{towards}}$,

(44) $\overset{2}{\text{as}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{put}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$,

```
        2   3   2      3       2                            3
W (45) the hustler or pimping image which would be in the black
        2      2
       community,
        2             3    1       1
  (46) which in the white community,
        3    2                          3      2  31
  (47) you know, would be like, um, the entrepreneur.
       2                 3     1
  (48) If you can understand that.
        3           2             2
  (49) This is the guy who, you know,
        2  32    3  1
  (50) he uses people.
        2 31    1
  (51) Manipulator.
        2  3        2          32       3  1
  (52) He uses people and manipulates people.
        3   2       3     31
  (53) This is the same thing.
        2       3     4      2              3 1       1
  (54) But he's at a point where he's in transition now.
        2  3       2     3       2               31
  (55) He doesn't know exactly where he wants to go.
        2    32                   3
  (56) He's using words like hammer,
        2         3    2       3 2            3 2
  (57) which is, you know, a reference to a woman,
       2        32    3   2     2
  (58) or a, a lower class of woman.
        2             3    2                 3     2
  (59) You know, you have to begin to understand that,
        3    2     3  2          3  1
  (60) you know, this is what's happened.

(E  "A woman says, I want him, but if he steps out of line, he gets it."
    What are you trying to say here?)

       3 1
W (61) Okay.
       2   3 2       2
  (62) In essence, then,
        3           2    2
  (63) what we're saying is,
        2         3  2       31
  (64) when you step out of line,
       2  3 2               3 2          3   1    3   2
  (65) In other words, the rudimentary thing in this kind of thing
                                     3
       when you're talking about whores,
        2        3   1 1
  (66) and the prostitute,
        2    3   2  2
  (67) The prostitute --
```

```
      2         3   2     3 1            1
(68) there's a different level of 'em now.

       2  3     2                                      3    2
(69) The prostitute is a person who keeps his own learn, keeps her
      3       1
     own earnings,

      2    3
(70) all right?

       2       3     2           3 1
(71) and the whore, now, is the user.

       2   3 1   1
(72) The user, now.

     2 3
(73) Okay?

       3      2               3     31
(74) She's a person who is being used.

       23
(75) Right?

       3  2     32
(76) She has a pimp,

      2     3  2                          41
(77) or as we say, you know, an entrepreneur.

       23
(78) Right?

     3   2                4     1
(79) He is the person who's out there.

      2   3 2         3  1
(80) And he is her protector.

      1       1
(81) At that point.

       23
(82) Right?

     3 1
(83) Okay.

      2   3   2         3     2 2
(84) In this case, what I'm saying is,

        2   3  2          4   1    1
(85) young ladies make their own decisions,

      2                      2
(86) as to what they wanta do.

     2 3
(87) Okay?

      2   3   2   3   1   1
(88) And they are pointing at,

      3    2           3 2             3 2
(89) you know, they're taking and saying, okay.

     3  2  31
(90) I want him.

       23
(91) Right?

     31
(92) Okay.

      2    4      2
(93) But in their terms,
```

W (94) /$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{wan}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{Im}}$/

(95) $\overset{2}{\text{or}}$, /$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ w$\overset{3}{\text{ɒn}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{Im}}$/

(96) $\overset{2}{\text{or}}$ /$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ w$\overset{32}{\text{on}}$/

(97) $\overset{2}{\text{Y}}$ s*, it's, it's a $\overset{3}{\text{lot}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{of}}$ different $\overset{31}{\text{things}}$.

(98) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ it has different conno$\overset{3}{\text{ta}}$$\overset{2}{\text{tions}}$ to $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$.

(99) $\overset{3}{\text{Different}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{lev}}$,

(100) $\overset{3}{\text{pitch}}$$\overset{1}{\text{es}}$.

(101) $\overset{2}{\text{Pitches}}$ of your $\overset{31}{\text{voice}}$,

(102) $\overset{3}{\text{real}}$$\overset{2}{\text{ly}}$.

(103) $\overset{2}{\text{Like}}$ you say $\overset{4}{\text{Bull}}$$\overset{1}{\text{shit}}$!

(104) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(105) $\overset{3}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{excited}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{phrase}}$ which means $\overset{31}{\text{stop}}$.

(106) $\overset{3}{\text{Hold}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it}}$.

(107) $\overset{3}{\text{Wait}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ a $\overset{31}{\text{minute}}$.

(108) $\overset{3}{\text{O}}$$\overset{2}{\text{kay}}$.

(109) "$\overset{3}{\text{Hey}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{Waterford}}$, check it $\overset{31}{\text{out}}$!"

(110) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(111) $\overset{2}{\text{Check}}$ it $\overset{31}{\text{out}}$.

(112) $\overset{2}{\text{What}}$ does that $\overset{31}{\text{mean}}$?

(113) $\overset{2}{\text{Am}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{understanding}}$ him at that $\overset{1}{\text{point}}$?

(114) $\overset{2}{\text{This}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{is}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{real}}$$\overset{3}{\text{ly}}$ a $\overset{2}{\text{ba}}$$\overset{3}{\text{sic}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{thing}}$.

(115) $\overset{3}{\text{He}}$ wants to $\overset{31}{\text{know}}$.

(116) $\overset{2}{\text{When}}$ he's $\overset{3}{\text{asking}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{me}}$

(117) $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ $\overset{4}{\text{check}}$ it $\overset{2}{\text{out}}$,

(118) $\overset{2}{\text{am}}$ I under$\overset{3}{\text{stan}}$$\overset{1}{\text{ding}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{him}}$?

(119) $\overset{2}{\text{All}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{right}}$?

W (120) B$\overset{2}{\text{u}}$t the problem $\overset{4}{\text{I}}$ h$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ve,

(121) $\overset{2}{\text{i}}$s that the m$\overset{3}{\text{i}}$nute $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ begin to underst$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$nd h$\overset{2}{\text{i}}$m,

(122) m$\overset{2}{\text{y}}$ voc$\overset{4}{\text{a}}$b$\overset{1}{\text{u}}$lary incre$\overset{1}{\text{a}}$ses.

(123) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$f tha, if th$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$t happe$\overset{2}{\text{n}}$s then I have to w$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$tch, t$\overset{1}{\text{o}}$ a certain
ext$\overset{1}{\text{e}}$nt,

(124) y$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$u kn$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$w, where my vocabulary's g$\overset{4}{\text{o}}$$\overset{1}{\text{i}}$ng.

(125) B$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$cause, you know, I'm $\overset{3}{\text{a}}$lways pl$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$yin thi$\overset{2}{\text{s}}$

(126) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$, I h$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$ve to pl$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$y a double st$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$nd$\overset{1}{\text{a}}$rd.

(127) Th$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$re, there h$\overset{4}{\text{a}}$s t$\overset{1}{\text{o}}$ b$\overset{1}{\text{e}}$.

(128) A$\overset{2}{\text{t}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{a}}$ll ti$\overset{1}{\text{m}}$es.

(129) Y$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$u kn$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$w.

(130) B$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$tween what h$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$'s s$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ying, and what I can he$\overset{31}{\text{a}}$r.

(131) Wh$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$t I can r$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$c$\overset{1}{\text{o}}$gn$\overset{1}{\text{i}}$ze.

(E I notice one time here you were talking about who's using who. Is that what you were trying to prove?)

W. (132) Th$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$t's ri$\overset{31}{\text{g}}$ht.

(133) A$\overset{2}{\text{n}}$d then t$\overset{32}{\text{o}}$o, to b$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$ck h$\overset{2}{\text{i}}$m into a c$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$rn$\overset{1}{\text{e}}$r.

(134) Y$\overset{2F}{\text{o}}$u h$\overset{3F}{\text{a}}$ve to g$\overset{2F}{\text{e}}$t him, g$\overset{2F}{\text{e}}$t

(135) $\overset{3N}{\text{M}}$ost youngst$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$rs, you h$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$ve to g$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$t 'em to the p$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$int wh$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$re you
f$\overset{3}{\text{o}}$rce h$\overset{2}{\text{i}}$m to th$\overset{31}{\text{i}}$nk.

(136) $\overset{2}{\text{O}}$$\overset{3}{\text{k}}$ay?

(137) N$\overset{31}{\text{o}}$w, wh$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$t h$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$ppe$\overset{2}{\text{n}}$s is, h$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$ comes o$\overset{2}{\text{u}}$t, n$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$gat$\overset{1}{\text{i}}$ve,

(138) t$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$ st$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$rt w$\overset{1}{\text{i}}$th.

(139) H$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$'s alr$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$ad$\overset{2}{\text{y}}$ n$\overset{3}{\text{e}}$gat$\overset{1}{\text{i}}$ve.

(140) Ri$\overset{23}{\text{g}}$ht?

(141) N$\overset{32}{\text{o}}$w that's when the boxing $\overset{3}{\text{i}}$n st$\overset{1}{\text{a}}$rts.

(142) Wh$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$n you as$\overset{3}{\text{k}}$ hi$\overset{2}{\text{m}}$

W (143) $\overset{3}{\text{who's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{pimping}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{who}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{here}}$.

(144) $\overset{2}{\text{what}}$ you're actually $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{saying}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$,

(145) $\overset{3}{\text{who's}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{using}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{who}}$

(146) $\overset{2}{\text{or}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{whom}}$.

(147) $\overset{2}{\text{All}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{right}}$?

(148) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{he's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{saying}}$, in $\overset{32}{\text{effect}}$,

(149) $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{okay}}$,

(150) $\overset{3}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{using}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{you}}$.

(151) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(152) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ what $\overset{3}{\text{I'm}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{saying}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$,

(153) $\overset{3}{\text{you're}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{not}}$ using $\overset{3\ 2\ 2}{\text{anybody}}$;

(154) $\overset{2}{\text{you're}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{being}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{used}}$.

(155) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{see}}$?

(156) $\overset{2}{\text{But}}$ it, it's $\overset{3}{\text{got}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ the $\overset{3}{\text{point}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{where}}$ it's $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{semantics}}$,

(157) $\overset{1}{\text{at}}$ that $\overset{1}{\text{point}}$.

(158) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ so $\overset{3}{\text{I've}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{got}}$ to straighten $\overset{3}{\text{him}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{out}}$ and box him in a $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{corner}}$.

(159) $\overset{2}{\text{Once}}$ he's boxed $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{into}}$ that $\overset{1}{\text{corner}}$,

(160) $\overset{2}{\text{then}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{he}}$ has $\overset{1}{\text{to}}$,

(161) $\overset{2}{\text{in}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{at}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{that}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{at}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{that}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{juncture}}$,

(162) $\overset{2}{\text{he}}$ $\overset{4}{\text{has}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{to}}$ be $\overset{1}{\text{forced}}$

(163) $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{understand}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{what's}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{happening}}$ to $\overset{1}{\text{him}}$.

(164) $\overset{2}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{important}}$.

(165) $\overset{2}{\text{He}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{has}}$ to understand $\overset{1}{\text{that}}$.

(166) $\overset{3}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ reason why, in a $\overset{3}{\text{lot}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{of}}$ the $\overset{2}{\text{conversation}}$,

(167) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{notice}}$ that I $\overset{3}{\text{took}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{about}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{four}}$ or five $\overset{2}{\text{different}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{slants}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{on}}$
the $\overset{3}{\text{same}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{thing}}$.

(168) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

W (169) You go at it one way;
(170) he doesn't understand that.
(171) So you turn around and go at him another way.
(172) And you use a lot of, like
(173) most people would say derogatory terms.
(174) like Bullshit,
(175) or "Fuck that shit."
(176) You know.
(177) All this is, is saying,
(178) Bullshit is no more than "That is incorrect."
(179) That's all it is.
(180) Or, uh, "Go, you know, go fuck yourself."
(181) Right?
(182) In other words, "Shut up."
(183) "You're not exactly cognizant of what's happening to you."
(184) You see.
(185) This is important.
(186) But, God dog,
(187) it's pretty hard to get 'em, get it through their heads.
(188) That's right.
(189) Basically.
(190) This is basically what I'm after.
(191) But,
(192) if you box him in a corner, and he is not able, intellectually,
(193) to come out,

W (194) then you've defeated your whole entire purpose.

(195) Do you see what I'm saying?

(196) You've defeated everything you're trying to do.

(197) Cause if you box him in too far,

(198) and he is not able to grow through this boxing-in experience,

(199) then, uh, you're, you've lost the ball game.

(200) The ba, the ball game's over.

(201) It's all over.

(202) The game's over then.

E (You said the girls around here are just plain stupid. Is that true?)

W (203) Yeah.

(204) Right.

(205) Basically.

(206) That's right.

(E What is needed?)

W (207) Well, okay.

(208) Nine times out of ten,

(209) you'll find an inadequacy of education.

(210) They do not have the real sincere ability to reason.

(211) In other words, reasoning qualities are not there.

(212) It's no, it's, it's, it's not their fault basically.

(213) It's a, it's an educational system that,

(214) you know, really doesn't give them this potential to think.

(215) It's a, it is, it isn't there.

(216) But that's not the point.

W (217) The^{2} point^{3} is^{32}, is that what's^{3} happening$^{2\ 2}$,

(218) is^{2} that the youngsters$^{3\ 2}$ here^{3} see^{2} a relationship$^{3\ 2}$ between the woman$^{3\ 2}$ and the family$^{3\ 1}$.

(219) Which^{2} is known^{3}, you know^{2}.

(220) It's^{2} been^{3} documented$^{2\ 2}$,

(221) about^{2} the matriarchal$^{3\ 2}$ society$^{3\ 2}$ in, in^{3} the black^{2}, or Negro$^{3\ 2}$, community$^{3\ 1}$.

(222) So^{2} what happens$^{3\ 1}$?

(223) Right^{23}?

(224) The^{2} educational^{3} system says^{2} "You^{3} will do^{2} this^{31}."

(225) But^{3} what we're^{3} here^{2} and all about^{31},

(226) is^{2}, "You will not^{3} do^{1} just this^{1}."

(227) "There's^{2} a ba^{3}, a^{2} broader$^{3\ 2}$ spectrum$^{3\ 1}$ of^{2} life^{3} that^{2} needs^{3} to^{2} be encompassed$^{3\ 2}$ in doing just this^{31}."

(228) So^{2} this^{3} is the reason^{2} why I say to a, to a large^{3} extent$^{1\ 1}$,

(229) most^{3} of^{2} the girls, or young^{3} ladies^{2} we have coming into^{31} the Center^{1},

(230) I'd^{2} say^{3} nine-tenths of^{1} them^{1},

(231) are^{3} just^{2} plain stupid$^{4\ 1}$.

(232) Because^{2} they^{23}, their^{2}, their outlook$^{3\ 2}$ is narrowed$^{3\ 1}$.

(233) It's^{2}, it's, it's not^{3} negative$^{2\ 2}$;

(234) but^{2} it's just narrowed$^{3\ 1}$.

(235) The^{2} perspective$^{3\ 1}$ is narrowed^{1}.

(236) You^{3} know^{2}.

(237) Yeah^{2}.

(238) In^{2} this^{3}, in^{2} this^{3} particular^{2} case here^{31},

W (239) $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, when $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{say}}$, okay, they $\overset{3}{\text{give}}$ you $\overset{2}{\text{your}}$ $\overset{3\,1}{\text{money}}$.

(240) $\overset{2}{\text{They}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{give}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{their}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{money}}$ at $\overset{3}{\text{this}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{point}}$.

(241) $\overset{23}{\text{Right}}$?

(242) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ say, you $\overset{3}{\text{let}}$ them $\overset{2}{\text{drive}}$ their, your $\overset{31}{\text{car}}$,

(243) $\overset{2}{\text{or}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{their}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{car}}$.

(244) $\overset{23}{\text{Right}}$?

(245) $\overset{2}{\text{And}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{all}}$ of a $\overset{2}{\text{sudden}}$ it becomes $\overset{3}{\text{your}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{car}}$.

(246) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{see}}$ what I $\overset{3}{\text{mean}}$?

(247) $\overset{2\,3}{\text{Instead}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{of}}$ it being a $\overset{3\,2}{\text{two-way}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{street}}$, it becomes $\overset{3\,1}{\text{one-sided}}$.

(248) $\overset{2}{\text{It's}}$ a $\overset{3}{\text{user}}$, $\overset{2\,31}{\text{usee}}$.

(249) $\overset{2}{\text{This}}$ is what's $\overset{3\,1}{\text{happened}}$.

(250) $\overset{2\,3}{\text{Right}}$?

(251) $\overset{2}{\text{Okay}}$, and $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{say}}$ you're $\overset{3\,1}{\text{gaming}}$.

(252) $\overset{2\,2}{\text{Okay}}$?

(253) $\overset{2}{\text{Or}}$ in $\overset{3}{\text{our}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{terms}}$, you're $\overset{3\,1}{\text{gamin}}$.

(254) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(255) $\overset{2\,31}{\text{Okay}}$.

(256) $\overset{2}{\text{What}}$ does it $\overset{31}{\text{mean}}$?

(257) $\overset{2}{\text{You're}}$ $\overset{3\,2}{\text{playing}}$ a $\overset{32}{\text{game}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{with}}$ $\overset{2\,31}{\text{yourself}}$.

(258) $\overset{3}{\text{This}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$ what you're $\overset{3\,1}{\text{doing}}$.

(259) $\overset{2}{\text{You're}}$, you're $\overset{3\,2}{\text{actually}}$ putting $\overset{3}{\text{yourself}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{in}}$ a $\overset{3}{\text{trick}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{bag}}$.

(260) $\overset{2\,3}{\text{Okay}}$?

(261) $\overset{2}{\text{You're}}$, you're $\overset{4}{\text{in}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{bag}}$.

(262) $\overset{2}{\text{But}}$ you can't get $\overset{31}{\text{out}}$.

(263) $\overset{2}{\text{So}}$ what you're $\overset{3}{\text{doing}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{is}}$, you're $\overset{3\,2}{\text{encompassing}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{more}}$.

(264) $\overset{2}{\text{As}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you're}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{in}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{the}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{same}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{bag}}$.

(265) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{cannot}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{get}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{out}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{of}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$.

W (266) So^{2} what you're doing^{3} is^{2} trying to pull everybory$^{3\,2}$, everybody$^{3\,2}$ and everything$^{3\,2}$, in with^{4} you^{1}.

(267) See$^{2\,3}$?

(268) Okay$^{3\,1}$.

(269) An'^{2}, "you^{3} jo'^{2}, see, you^{3} jo'^{1}".

(270) Okay$^{3\,1}$.

(271) What^{2} that^{3} means^{2} is, nine^{3} times^{2} out of ten^{31},

(272) in^{2}, in that^{3} type^{2} of, of framework$^{3\,2}$, it's^{2}

(273) "jo"^{32} is a^{2}

(274) it's^{2} a chopped-off$^{3\,2}$ "josh"^{31}.

(275) You're^{2} joshin$^{3\,1}$,

(276) you're^{2} joshin$^{3\,1}$.

(277) "You^{3} jo^{2}, you^{3} jo^{1}".

(278) Okay$^{3\,1}$.

(279) The^{2} kid^{32}, at that^{3} point^{2}, begins to understand^{31},

(280) because^{2} you're chopping^{3} the words^{2} in connection with the way he^{3} chops^{2} his^{3} words^{1}.

(281) You're^{2} beginning$^{3\,2}$ to use^{3} somewhat^{2} similar$^{3\,2}$ terminology$^{3\,1}$,

(282) to^{2} get down to the same^{3} level^{2} where he^{4} is^{1}.

(283) If^{2} you can't^{3} do that, you're very^{3} ineffective$^{2\,3\,2}$ in this setting$^{3\,1}$.

(284) So^{2} no matter how^{3} much education you^{2} have, somewhere^{3} along the line^{2}, you must drop^{3} your^{2} vocabulary$^{4\,1\,1}$.

(285) Your^{2} vocabulary$^{3\,2}$ is like^{2},

(286) It's^{2} like^{3} when^{2} I was goin^{3} to^{2} college$^{3\,1}$.

(287) You^{3} know^{2}, you^{3} say^{2}, well you use^{3},

(288) uh^{2}, One^{3} guy^{2} figured I used fifty$^{3\,2}$ thousand$^{3\,2}$ words^{31}.

(289) Or^{1} something^{1}.

W (290) $\overset{32}{\text{Gosh}}$.

(291) $\overset{2}{\text{Down}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{here}}$, $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{Iuse}}$ maybe a $\overset{4\ \ 1}{\text{hundred}}$.

(292) $\overset{2}{\text{For}}$ an $\overset{32}{\text{entire}}$ $\overset{41}{\text{day}}$.

(293) $\overset{2}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{all}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{use}}$.

(294) $\overset{2}{\text{So}}$ when I go $\overset{32}{\text{home}}$, I've got to $\overset{3}{\text{break}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$ $\overset{3\ \ 1}{\text{stagnation}}$,

(295) $\overset{2}{\text{of}}$ non-$\overset{31}{\text{usage}}$,

(296) $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ even $\overset{3}{\text{converse}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{with}}$ my $\overset{3}{\text{own}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{wife}}$ and $\overset{31}{\text{kids}}$.

(297) $\overset{2}{\text{Do}}$ you $\overset{3}{\text{see}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{what}}$ I'm $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{saying}}$, $\overset{1}{\text{now}}$?

(298) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{can't}}$ come $\overset{2}{\text{at}}$ them with this "$\overset{3\ 2}{\text{Okay}}$, $\overset{31}{\text{mmhmm}}$."

(299) $\overset{2}{\text{Well}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{that}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{doesn't}}$ $\overset{4}{\text{mean}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{anything}}$ to $\overset{1}{\text{them}}$.

(300) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(301) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{come}}$ at $\overset{3}{\text{them}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{with}}$, uh, "$\overset{3}{\text{Ah}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{you're}}$ $\overset{3\ \ 1}{\text{bullshittin}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{me}}$."

(302) $\overset{2}{\text{Well}}$, $\overset{41}{\text{hey}}$!

(303) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, I, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$

(304) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ can't come $\overset{1}{\text{at}}$ them that $\overset{1}{\text{way}}$.

(305) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{have}}$ to say "Well $\overset{31}{\text{look}}$."

(306) "$\overset{2}{\text{All}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you're}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{doin}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you're}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{pullin}}$ my $\overset{31}{\text{leg}}$."

(307) $\overset{2}{\text{This}}$ is, $\overset{3}{\text{their}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{term}}$.

(308) $\overset{2}{\text{This}}$ is, $\overset{3}{\text{their}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{way}}$ of $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{saying}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it}}$.

(309) $\overset{2}{\text{It}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, or you're $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{lying}}$.

(310) $\overset{2}{\text{In}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{other}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{words}}$, it's $\overset{3}{\text{not}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{it's}}$ a $\overset{3}{\text{direct}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{thing}}$.

(311) $\overset{2}{\text{It's}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{not}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{going}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{around}}$ the $\overset{2\ 2}{\text{corner}}$,

(312) $\overset{2}{\text{takin}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{fifty}}$ thousand $\overset{32}{\text{words}}$,

(313) $\overset{3}{\text{to}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{say}}$ what $\overset{3}{\text{needs}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ be $\overset{2}{\text{said}}$,

(314) $\overset{2}{\text{it's}}$ a $\overset{3}{\text{direct}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{statement}}$.

W (315) You^{23}'re jo^{3}shin^{1}.

(316) You^{3}'re pu^{2}llin my leg^{31}.

(317) You^{3} know^{2}.

(318) This^{2} is^{3} what^{2} it^{3} means^{31}.

(319) But^{2} there's alot^{3} to it^{1}.

(320) 'S^{2} a lot^{3} more to it^{2} than that^{32}.

(321) I^{2}, I^{3} think^{2} that the use^{3} of^{2} the word "understand^{31}"

(322) in^{2} this^{3}, in^{2}, in all^{4} of^{1} this^{1},

(323) is^{2} to try^{3}, at^{2}tempt^{32}, in a small^{3} way^{31},

(324) to^{2} get^{3} the^{2} young^{3}ster^{2} to un^{3}derstand^{32},

(325) that^{2} what's hap^{4}pen^{2}ing to 'em^{2},

(326) is^{2} ac^{3}tual^{2}ly turn^{3}in^{2} him around^{31}.

(327) This^{2} is what we're tal^{3}kin^{1} about^{1},

(328) turnin^{3} him around^{2}, setting^{3} his head^{32} the^{3} other^{2} way^{31}.

(329) In^{2} other^{3} words^{2}, if you're ne^{4}ga^{2}tive, and you're so far^{32} into
ne^{3}ga^{1}tivism^{1},

(330) that^{2} you can^{3}not^{2} see^{3} any^{2} light^{3} at^{2} the end of the cor^{3}ri^{2}dor^{2},

(331) you^{1} see, this^{2} is^{3}, like^{2} I^{3} say^{2}, this is, uh, Eng^{3}lish^{2}, now^{2},

(332) this^{2} is^{3}, this^{2} is^{3} the^{2}, the common^{3}, nor^{2}mal^{3} way^{2} that I normally
speak^{31}.

(333) If^{2} you^{3}, if^{2} you can't^{3} see that light at^{2} the end^{32}, what hap^{3}pens^{1}?

(334) You^{2} get a clo^{3}sed-in perspec^{1}tive,

(335) of^{2} yourself^{31}.

(336) So^{2} this is what they're do^{4}ing^{1}.

(337) They^{2} have a closed-in^{3} perspec^{2}tive of them^{31}selves.

(338) And^{2} what they try^{3} to do^{2}, is they, at that^{3} point^{2}, chop it off^{41}.

W (339) They begin to go back into the ghetto-type thing.

(340) You know.

(341) They're goinoack into this.

(342) Right?

(343) It's where I just came from.

(344) But that's not the point.

(345) What's happened is, they're going automatically back into it.

(346) It's really somethin,

(347) it's really something.

(348) It's, it's, to a certain extent, it's degrading.

(349) Really.

(350) To me.

(351) Because of, you have to begin to revert back,

(352) instead of progressing and growing, you must always go back, and engineer,

(353) and then, you know, the engineering qualities of this thing,

(354) you know, must be more pronounced than normal.

* * * * * *

(140a) He comes in, looks at me, now with this thing of

(140b) "I'm nobody until you prove otherwise."

(140c) Right.

(223a) Well, here I sit.

(223b) As supposed to be some kind of guiding light.

(223c) You know.

(223d) Which is a bunch of crap.

(223e) But what happens?

(223f) Right?

W (247a) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{see}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{what}}$ I $\overset{3}{\text{mean}}$.

(247b) $\overset{3}{\text{This}}$ means $\overset{2}{\text{a}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{lot}}$,

(247c) $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ $\overset{31}{\text{them}}$.

(247d) $\overset{2}{\text{They}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{want}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{one}}$-sid$\overset{1}{\text{ed}}$.

APPENDIX III:

Two Conversations Recorded in a White Community

The names of the participants have been changed in the scripts which follow, in order to protect their privacy.

SESSION ONE -- WHITE ENGLISH

The following conversation occurred in a discussion in an alternative school drop-in classroom which was initiated by a tape-recording of Session Two -- Black English. Participants are Rae, Ken, Jerry, Nadine, Connie and Sheila.

* * * * * * * * *

```
      2       3     2
K (1) Oh, uh, I dunno.
      3   2                 3 2
  (2) I see it as, um more open,
       2             3     2        3
  (3) an, like that tape, an like that,
       2        3     2               3   2                    3
  (4) but, um, it's the same way in, in our community in the white
        3   2
      districts,
        3    2             3  1
  (5) you know, an white people. (comments)
       2      3     2
  (6) Well, shit, man,
       3    2            3     2                     3    1         3
  (7) she's a far out chick, cause she does what I tell her to do, you
        2
      know.
       2             3            2                       2
  (8) Like, like a white guy'll take, take, uh a girl an say,
       3    2                  3   2          2
  (9) you know, like, I'm not serious about her,
        2         3   2     3   2               3    2
  (10) but I'll keep her around a, as long as, you know,
         2  3     2                 2
  (11) she does what I want her to do,
       2                   31   2    2
  (12) an she's around for me, you know.
         2             3  1     1
S (13) What about the sexual thing?
        2           2
R (14) How do you mean?
        2                3  2          3  2
S (15) Well, the idea of using people sexually,
        2         3 2    3    2
  (16) using the woman sexually.  (comments)
         2              3   1     1
S (17) That's what I'm talking about,
       2        3   1       1
  (18) in the white community. (comments)
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J (19) ^{2}Well, there's always the pr^{3}ob^{2}lem that, ^{3}you kn^{2}ow,

(20) ^{2}if I ^{3}do ^{2}go, if I ^{3}do ^{2}go to bed with him, maybe he'll l^{3}eave m^{1}e.

(21) ^{2}You know, which is, ^{3}you kn^{2}ow.

(22) ^{2}It's uh just the same th^{31}ing.

N (23) ^{2}Yeah, well, maybe he won't resp^{3}ect ^{2}me for going to ^{3}bed ^{2}with him

so he'll think, you're not w^{3}orth ^{2}it...

K (24) ^{2}Well, ^{32}shit,

(25) ^{3}that's, that's ^{2}the same w^{2}ay,

J (26) ^{2}It's still th^{32}ere.

N (27) ^{2}That's ch^{3}an^{1}ging th^{1}ough,

(28) ^{2}I really th^{3}ink s^{1}o.

C (29) ^{2}Oh, ^{3}I ^{2}don't kn^{2}ow.

(30) ^{3}I ^{2}can remember when I did that tr^{3}ip.

(31) ^{2}When I thought, ^{3}well, ^{2}if I go to ba, ^{3}bed ^{2}with this guy he's not

gonna resp^{3}ect ^{2}me,

(32) ^{2}but, ^{3}I don't think it has that much ^{2}to ^{3}do w^{1}ith i^{1}t.

K (33) ^{2}Oh, ah, would you pl^{3}ease ^{2}pass the ^{3}ash^{3}tray?

C (34) ^{2}Gimme a d^{3}oll^{2}ar and I'll ^{3}do ^{1}it.

K (35) ^{3}I ^{2}just do ^{3}any^{2}thing for a doll^{2}ar. (laughter)

(36) ^{2}Yeah, ^{3}that,

(37) ^{2}and it's ^{3}al^{2}so the feeling of ^{3}be^{1}ing need^{1}ed.

(38) ^{2}um, i- if you ^{3}do, ^{2}what the guy ^{3}wants ^{2}you to do, ^{2}i-

(39) ^{3}you ^{2}know, y- you, you can ^{3}kind ^{2}of ^{3}ratio^{2}nalize ^{2}it,

(40) ^{2}saying, ^{3}oh ^{2}well, he ^{3}needs ^{1}me, you kn^{1}ow.

(41) ^{2}An like, an, ah ^{3}tha- that ^{1}type of ^{1}trip. (comments)

S (42) ^{3}O ^{2}because there's more prestige in getting a chick an there's ^{2}more

(43) ^{2}oh, ^{3}all ^{2}sorts of ^{3}gar^{2}bage.

K (44) Oh^{32}, m-, yeah^{32}.

(45) besides^{2} that^{3}, it's^{2} more pleasure^{31}. (comments)

S (46) Okay^{23}, there's^{2} a lotta^{32} young^{3} guys that^{2} would run around, go to bed with any^{3} chick they^{2} can lay^{31}.

(47) that's^{2} possibly^{412}...

(48) a^{2} lotta^{32} guys get older^{32}, an they think^{3} about^{2} it more, you^{3} know^{2}.

(49) they'll^{3} get^{2} more picky^{31}. (comments)

(50) They^{2} wanta know^{3} you^{1};

(51) they^{2} wanta know^{3} you^{1}.

K (52) Yeah^{2}.

S (53) It's^{2}, I'm not looking^{32}.

(54) I'm^{2} not^{3} talking^{2} about a challenge^{32};

(55) I'm^{2} talking about where they want a relationship^{322} (comments)

(56) Well^{2}, there's more^{3} to^{2} a chick^{3} than^{2} just balling^{31} with her^{1}.

(57) That's^{3} kinda^{2} stupid^{32},

(58) for^{2} a chick^{3} to^{2} fall for some guy who just automatically says I love^{3} you^{1}. (comments)

(59) You^{3} know^{2}, cause if you're just screwing around^{32}, you know^{2}

(60) an^{2}, an you don't even talk^{32}, (comments)

K (61) Really^{32}.

(62) There's^{2} no sense in fuckin up your own head^{31}.

(63) I^{2}, it's almost security^{311};

(64) he^{2} wants the security^{32} of knowing that there's somebody^{32} there to, you^{3} know^{2}, that he can always go^{3} to^{1}.

(65) I^{2}, it's just^{3} that^{2},

(66) it's^{3} an^{2} attitude of, you^{3} know^{2}, givin a line^{3} and^{2} havin somebody dumb enough to fall^{3} for^{1} it^{1}.

K (67) Hey, Ernie,

(68) we're talkin about pimpin an ballin.

(69) Siddown.

J (70) Have a seat. (comments)

K (71) That, an it might be a status thing too. (comments)

(72) Oh, well, sure, eh,

(73) well, that's security, you know.

(74) They've got their status,

(75) an they've got, (comments)

(76) Yeah, it's just a game;

(77) really.

S (78) I was in the Youth Center with a pro- a black girl who's a prostitute and she needed a stable sister,

(79) somebody to work with her;

(80) I saw her talk this other girl into it,

(81) tellin her about all the money,

(82) an how, the guy'll pay you fifty bucks just to walk over his bare back with high heel shoes,

(83) things like that;

(84) tellin her all the clothes she got, an everything.

(85) Like that, used money for the bribe,

(86) an the girl sucked,

(87) just got sucked right into it.

(88) She said, she told her she could make her, you know,

(89) the most wanted girl all over Seattle,

(90) how she could have her hair cut in a shag an stuff an how she could live with her an how neat the life was an exciting,

S (91) $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ stuff like $\overset{3}{\text{that}}$.

(92) $\overset{3}{\text{this}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{girl}}$ was in the $\overset{3}{\text{Youth}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{Center}}$ cause shegot $\overset{3}{\text{bus}}\overset{2}{\text{ted}}$ by some $\overset{3}{\text{plain}}\overset{1}{\text{clo}}\text{thes}\overset{1}{\text{men}}$.

R (93) $\overset{3}{\text{She}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{sucked}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{in}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{for}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$,

(94) $\overset{23}{\text{huh}}$?

S (95) $\overset{3}{\text{Yes}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{she}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{did}}$.

(96) $\overset{2}{\text{An}}$ now they're $\overset{3}{\text{both}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{out}}$ there $\text{wor}\overset{1}{\text{kin}}$.

(97) $\overset{2}{\text{She's}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{white}}$;

(98) $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{o}}\overset{2}{\text{ther}}$ one was $\overset{31}{\text{black}}$.

R (99) $\overset{2}{\text{Why}}$ do $\overset{4}{\text{they}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{suck}}$ into $\overset{1}{\text{that}}$?

(100) $\overset{3}{\text{They}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{got}}$ money comin in from $\overset{3}{\text{Da}}\overset{3}{\text{ddy}}$.

(101) $\overset{2}{\text{they}}$ could get a $\overset{3}{\text{job}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{easy}}$... (comments)

K (102) $\overset{3}{\text{May}}\overset{2}{\text{be}}$ it's not a big change in $\overset{3}{\text{val}}\overset{2}{\text{ues}}$;

(103) $\overset{2}{\text{maybe}}$ it's just bringin the values out in the $\overset{3}{\text{o}}\overset{1}{\text{pen}}$.

(104) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ mean, maybe they're operating in a $\text{soci}\overset{3}{\text{e}}\overset{2}{\text{ty}}$,

(105) $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$ they've been brought up with different $\overset{3}{\text{val}}\overset{2}{\text{ues}}$,

(106) $\overset{2}{\text{and}}$ those values of the society aren't really $\overset{41}{\text{theirs}}$.

(107) $\overset{2}{\text{An}}$ they just want to float $\overset{3}{\text{ea}}\overset{1}{\text{sy}}$ for a little $\overset{1}{\text{while}}$. (comments)

S (108) $\overset{3}{\text{Isn't}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{re}}\overset{2}{\text{ally}}$ hard to get started if you don't have a $\overset{3}{\text{pimp}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ get hold $\overset{3}{\text{of}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{your}}$ customers an check $\overset{3}{\text{out}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{your}}$ customers $\overset{2}{\text{an'}}$...

(109) $\overset{3}{\text{Che}}\overset{2}{\text{ryl}}$ told me she always carries a $\overset{3}{\text{ra}}\overset{1}{\text{zor}}$ or $\text{sum}\overset{1}{\text{pin}}$,

(110) $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$, an, she said, $\overset{2}{\text{like}}$,

(111) $\overset{2}{\text{always}}$ leave your clothes by the $\overset{31}{\text{chair}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{by}}$ the $\overset{31}{\text{door}}$,

(112) $\overset{2}{\text{in}}$ case you wan- have to $\overset{3}{\text{git}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{up}}$ an $\overset{3}{\text{run}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{out}}$ of sumpin you $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(113) $\overset{2}{\text{An}}$ she said, $\overset{3}{\text{make}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{sure}}$ you $\overset{3}{\text{know}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{they}}$ have $\overset{3}{\text{mo}}\overset{2}{\text{ney}}$,

(114) $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ not just a $\overset{3}{\text{gun}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{or}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{sumpin}}$.

(115) $\overset{2}{\text{An}}$ all these $\overset{3}{\text{o}}\overset{1}{\text{ther}}$ kinda things to $\text{remem}\overset{1}{\text{ber}}$.

3 2 3 1
S (116) Little rules.

2 3 2 3 1 1
(117) See, she told me the real side of it.

2 3 2 3 2 3 1
(118) but then I sat there watching her sucked up a other girl
1
into it.

3 2
K (119) Oh, shit.

3 2 3 2 3 1
S (120) Cheryl's boyfriend's crippled,

2 3 2 3 31
(121) an he beats her over the head every night,

2 3 2 3 1 1
(122) an she's got scars from it,

2 3 2
(123) an she says,

3 31
(124) she brags,

2 3 31
(125) yeah, she brags,

2 3 31 1
(126) I never run from him. (comments)

2 3 2 32 2
S (127) Yeah, she talked about Denise like, um,

3 2 3 2
(128) she'd walk down the street an if any pig would stop her,
3 2 3 1 1
she'd say her name was Michelle Kingston or sumpin,

3 2 3 1
(129) an, uh, her sister,

3 2 3 2 3 1 1
(130) everybody knew the fal- false names of everybody,

2 3 2 31
(131) cause the pigs would check:

2 31
(132) what's that girl's name?

2 3 1
(133) an she'd say, Michelle Kingston.

2 2
(134) Sumpin.

3 2 2
(135) That was her false name.

2 3 2 3 2 3 1
(136) The pimps are the ones who teach them all the rules like
1
that,

2 3 2 2
(137) how to act innocent, like,

3 2 32
(138) that was your first day out,

2 3 1 1
(139) when you go in a hotel or sumpin.

S (140) In prostitution, isn't there a certain amount of, ah, lesbians runnin around? (comments)

(141) ... she's from the U an she was doing an investigation an she'd been doing it for like two years or sumpin.

(142) I heard this over KISW, FM, on the morning talk show.

(143) An like she said there's,

(144) that's the only type of real love that they git,

(145) that they feel that they can get,

(146) an it isn't publicized an they won't perform acts for their customers, at all,

(147) because to them it's very real an it's very personal an very private.

(148) An it's completely out of the money market;

(149) they won't do it for money no matter what.

(150) Or almost no matter what.

(151) But that really struck me as, uh, being strange.

(152) But it also, I just,

(153) I can't understand how you can get sucked into doing something like that.

(154) I just can't understand it.

(155) At all.

R (156) Especially in the days of womans lib. (comments)

J (157) Cowan's Park in the guys can;

(158) oh boy! (comments)

K (159) Oh, that's great.

(160) Think of all the crap the guy's gotta go through.

K (161) $\overset{2}{\text{He's}}$ gotta $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{marry}}$ her in order to $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{that.}}$

C (162) $\overset{2}{\text{Either}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{one}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{of}}$ them can use the $\overset{3}{\text{other}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{one.}}$

(163) $\overset{2}{\text{An}}$ it's $\overset{2}{\text{just,}}$

(164) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ can git $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{any}}$ married couple where one of 'em's $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{using}}$ the $\overset{3}{\text{other,}}$

(165) $\overset{2}{\text{they're}}$ dumb $\overset{3}{\text{enough.}}$

(166) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ don't know if they're $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{happy}}$ with that kind of $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{relationship,}}$ but they keep $\overset{3}{\text{doin}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it.}}$

K (167) $\overset{1}{\text{Oh,}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{they're}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{happy}}$ till somebody tells them they're $\overset{2}{\text{not.}}$

N (168) $\overset{2}{\text{It's}}$ really $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{funny}}$ when somebody's $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{using}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{you.}}$

(169) $\overset{2}{\text{Because}}$ you $\overset{2}{\text{can}}$ ...

K (170) $\overset{2}{\text{It's}}$ not so $\overset{3}{\text{funny.}}$

(series of comments)

K (171) $\overset{2}{\text{Build}}$ their own $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{egos.}}$

(172) $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{Really.}}$ (comments)

(173) $\overset{2}{\text{To}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$ you'd have to $\overset{3}{\text{blow}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{their}}$ $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{ego}}$ and not blow it $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{small,}}$

(174) $\overset{2}{\text{you'd}}$ have to do it $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{completely.}}$ (comments)

(175) $\overset{2}{\text{An}}$ if you want to $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{that,}}$ you $\overset{2}{\text{know,}}$

(176) $\overset{2}{\text{you,}}$ you $\overset{3}{\text{know}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$ you can do $\overset{3}{\text{that}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ somebody an really gonna fuck 'em $\overset{3}{\text{up}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{sumpin}}$ $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{fierce.}}$

(177) $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{Yean,}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{they}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can}}$ get their heads $\overset{3}{\text{blown}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{and}}$ thenthey'll talk themselves $\overset{3}{\text{out}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{of}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it.}}$

S (178) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$ he thinks $\overset{3}{\text{you're}}$ $\overset{4\ 2}{\text{nothing,}}$ how are you gonna shatter his $\overset{4\ 1}{\text{ego?}}$

K (179) ... wait^{3} an^{2} have somebody try and use^{3} you^{2} an but if you
know^{3} what's^{2} going on^{3} you're^{2} not, they're not really usin$^{3\,1}$ you^{1}.

R (180) Is^{2} there a way^{3} to^{2} confront people without totally blowing their
ego^{3} and^{2} without you^{3} know^{2} revenging$^{3\,3}$?

K (181) Sure^{3}.

(182) Be^{2} perfectly honest^{3} and^{2} blunt^{3} with^{1} them^{1}.

(183) It's^{2} about the easiest^{3} way to^{2} get along^{3} with^{1} people^{1}.

(184) You^{3} know^{2}.

(185) Without^{2} having to really get involved$^{3\,1}$.

R (186) That's^{3} really^{2} true^{31}.

K (187) What^{32}?

R (188) It's^{2} a way to git aroun, along^{3} with^{2} people without having$^{3\,2}$
to get involved$^{3\,2}$.

K (189) Without^{2} getting involved$^{4\,1}$.

(190) Sure^{41}.

R (191) And^{2} that's one^{3} thing^{2} that everybody doesn't^{3} want to do^{2}.

(192) Get^{2} involved$^{3\,1}$. (comments)

K (193) ... you^{2} might, you might get yourself hurt^{31}.

R (194) Right^{41}.

S (195) Yeah^{43}, but^{2} what^{3} happens^{2} if you've got^{2},

(196) every^{2} time you get involved^{3} you^{2} get shot down^{31}?

R (197) Then^{2} you start playing better games^{31}.

K (198) You^{2} get to know^{3} somebody^{2} really well^{3}, and^{2} they've^{3} got^{2} the
potential of fuckin you up^{31},

(199) man^{23}.

(200) You^{2} don't want to give^{3} 'em^{1} that potential^{1}.

R (201) ^{31}Right. (comments)

k (202) ^{2}Might ^{3}not, ^{2}man.

(203) ^{3}You ^{2}can really get screwed ^{4}up ^{1}that ^{1}way.

(204) ^{42}Shit. (comments)

(205) ^{2}But if you ^{3}are ^{2}aware of ^{3}it ^{2}and you decide to ^{31}play,

(206) ^{2}you gotta be ^{3}care^{2}ful about how you're gonna ^{3}play ^{2}it or else
^{3}you ^{2}might be the one that gets screwed ^{31}up.

(207) ^{2}And tha, and that's, that's the ^{3}end ^{2}of the ^{31}game, ^{23}man,

(208) ^{2}seeing who wins ^{3}is ^{2}to see who gets screwed ^{31}up.

K (209) ^{2}Or maybe they ^{3}are ^{2}an you might be just a step a^{3}head ^{1}of ^{1}'em.

(210) ^{42}Oh, $^{3:}$thank ^{1}you ^{1}doll.

(211) $^{3;}$Gol$^{1;}$lee!

(212) ^{3}Here, ^{2}you ^{3}want this ^{2}old one ^{3}here?

J (213) ^{3}It's ^{2}just another ^{31}game.

K (214) ^{3}You ^{2}can be a ^{3}lo^{2}ner, and wal, run a^{3}round ^{2}and have ^{2}your, (comment)

(215) ^{2}an, and ^{3}live ^{2}your own ^{3}way ^{2}but you're gonna be a lo^{3}ner^{1}, ^{2}man,

(216) ^{2}if you wanna live with other ^{3}peo^{2}ple, ^{2}man,

(217) ^{2}you gotta play by ^{3}their ^{31}rules.

(218) ^{3}You ^{2}know.

(219) ^{2}By society's ^{31}rules.

(220) ^{2}The ^{3}stron^{2}gest person isn't ^{4}gon^{1}na play ^{1}games,

(221) ^{2}an ^{3}they ^{2}gonna be out by them^{3}sel^{2}f,

(222) ^{2}but they ain't gonna have no ^{32}fun ^{3}ei^{1}ther. (laughs)

S (223) ^{32}Yeah, but see, like when ^{3}I ^{2}was at ^{3}Gar^{2}field,

(224) ^{3}I ^{2}had the big problem of wha, what the hell are you ^{3}tal^{1}king
^{1}about?

S (225) $\overset{2}{\text{Y}}$ can't, I can't $\overset{3}{\text{understand}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{you}}$.

(226) $\overset{2}{\text{You}}$ haven't made your $\overset{3}{\text{point}}$,

(227) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ haven't said $\overset{3}{\text{any}}\overset{1}{\text{thing}}$. (inaudible)

(228) $\overset{3}{\text{You}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{that's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{the}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{prob}}\overset{1}{\text{lem}}$.

K (229) $\overset{2}{\text{That}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{really}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{pis}}\overset{2}{\text{ses}}$ me $\overset{3}{\text{off}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{when}}$ somebody does that to $\overset{3}{\text{me}}$ $\overset{3\,1}{\text{too}}$.

(230) $\overset{1}{\text{God}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{can't}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{stand}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{it}}$,

(231) $\overset{2}{\text{when}}$ I'm trying to $\overset{3}{\text{say}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{something}}$ and trying to get another (in$\overset{3}{\text{aud}}$ible) $\overset{3F}{\text{they'll}}$ sit there "$\overset{3\,2\,\vee}{\text{Ahhhh}}$".

(232) $\overset{3\,2}{\text{God}}$, $\overset{1}{\text{I}}$ hate $\overset{1}{\text{that}}$!

J (233) $\overset{2}{\text{We}}$ breakin $\overset{3}{\text{up}}$?

SESSION TWO -- WHITE ENGLISH

Participants in this discussion are Connie, Rae, Nadine, Jerry, Dick, Tom and paul.

C (1) Yeah^{31}.

(2) My^{3} mom^{2} says I^{3} use^{2} her^{32}. (comment)

R (3) Rea^{2}lly^{3}?

C (4) Yeah^{2}.

(5) She^{2} said^{3} it^{1} to me^{1}.

(6) It^{2} blew^{3} my^{2} mind^{31}.

R (7) How^{2} do you use^{3} her^{1}?

C (8) Well^{2}, cause like, um, o^{3}kay^{2},

(9) like^{2}, I^{3} want^{2} to go to Neva^{3}da^{1},

(10) and^{2} like I have this ten^{3}dency^{2} not to stay^{3} in^{2} one place^{3} at^{2}, very long^{2}...

(11) you^{3} know^{2}.

R (12) Yeah^{32}.

C (13) And^{2} so^{3} like^{2} when I^{2} (noise)

(14) I^{2} had to beg^{3} her^{2} to come and stay home^{32},

(15) then^{2} I said^{3} that^{2} I'd stay^{3} here^{2} until I finished school^{31}.

(16) So^{2}, like, threw^{3} the^{2} news^{3} at^{2} her^{2},

(17) she^{3} says^{2} oh^{3} you're^{2} just us^{3}ing^{1} me^{1}.

R (18) That^{2} you were gonna move^{31}.

C (19) Mm^{2}hm^{2}. (comments)

R (20) You^{2} mean she^{3} thinks^{2} you're using her cause you're stayin at her house^{3}.

C (21) ^{3}Well,

N (22) ^{23}No, ^{2}Con^{3}nie ^{2}said she was gonna go to ^{32}school and finish ^{3}school
^{2}up here and so thenshe was gonna ^{3}split ^{1}again ^{1}in (noise)

(23) ^{1}in eight ^{3}mon^{1}ths. (comment)

C (24) ^{23}Course, ^{3}my ^{2}mom feels used by a ^{3}lot ^{1}of ^{1}people.

(25) ^{3}She's ^{2}useta go ^{3}on ^{2}and on bout how my, my ^{3}dad ^{1}used ^{1}her.

(26) ^{2}Before they got the ^{3}divor^{1}ce.

R (27) ^{2}Well, ^{3}she's ^{2}probly got some ^{3}sore ^{2}spot about bein ^{32}used ^{2}an

(28) ^{2}probly super^{3}sen^{1}sitive to ^{1}it.

C (29) ^{2}Well, ^{3}she ^{2}paid for our whole ^{32}house,

(30) ^{2}An, an ^{3}he ^{2}sold it an took the ^{3}mon^{1}ey. (comments)

J (31) ^{2}She has to be a ^{32}what,

(32) ^{2}a ^{3}mar^{1}tyr?

R (33) ^{2}You know what a ^{3}martyr ^{3}is? (comment)

J (34) ^{31}Oh, ^{2}sort of on their ^{3}own ^{1}trip.

R (35) ^{3}Ma^{2}king everybody else ^{3}feel ^{2}like they're, uh, op^{3}pressed

(36) ^{2}and ^{3}put ^{2}down

(37) ^{2}and that it's ^{3}their ^{32}fault.

J (38) ^{2}Oh, ^{32}yeah.

(39) ^{3}Is, ^{3}I ^{1}know whatcha ^{1}mean. (comments)

R (40) ^{2}So ^{3}she's ^{2}made some ^{3}choi^{2}ces

(41) ^{2}and she doesn't want to get the respon^{32}sibility for the choices
that she's ^{31}made,

(42) ^{2}'bout raisin ^{3}ba^{2}bies as opposed ^{2}to

(43) ^{2}usin her ^{31}brain. (comments)

N (44) ^{2}Yeah, ^{23}well, ^{3}that's ^{3}chan^{1}ging ^{1}though. (comment)

(45) ^{3}Yeah ^{2}I ^{3}real^{2}ly think it ^{31}is.

N (46) At our house it's not like that at all.

C (47) Course, you're rich enough to have a maid come and clean up.

N (48) Oh hell.

C (49) You do have a maid.

(50) Mary ...

N (51) No, she's not a maid,

(52) she's just there after school cause like Louise's not there all the time,

(53) so somebody's there when the kids get home.

C (54) She does clean up though.

N (55) Yeah, well, hell,

(56) what do you expect her to do?

(57) Sit on her butt?

C (58) Like, if you don't got money for it, you know,

(59) somebody's gotta do it.

(60) And like the husband says,

(61) well, shit, you know,

N (62) Well, Dad gets up an cooks just as often as Louise does.

C (63) Okay. (inaudible comments)

N (64) An he, he cleans up the house an stuff.

(65) You know, it's not just,

(66) you know, cleaning house an stuff like that's not just Louise's responsibility.

(67) It's as much my Dad's responsibility as it is hers.

R (68) I think, I think some people are making an attempt to change it.

(69) I sure am.

(70) Sure is a struggle though. (comments)

R (71) Would you understoo, understand it if you woke up one morning and there was a note from your old man saying that, (comment)
(72) he's gonna go for a month,
(73) an he'd be back with no explanation, (comments)
(74) How would you like your household to be set up if you had a wife?
(75) Would you want her to stay home,
(76) or would you want to share the work responsibilities,
(77) like she work part-time,
(78) you work part-time,
(79) you both take care of the babies part-time...

T (80) When I'm workin?

R (81) Well, if you were workin,
(82) how would you like that to be set up?

T (83) I don't think I'd want to share all the responsibilities at home.

C (84) I mean, fifty fifty?

T (85) Fifty-fifty?

C (86) Would that be ...? (comments)

T (87) Not if I was workin eight hours a day.

C (88) How about if she was workin eight hours a day too?

T (89) Mm, that'd be a different story.

R (90) Yeah, well, cool,
(91) if they're both working eight hours a day,
(92) they're gonna both have to be home at different shifts,
(93) and they'll never get a chance to really see each other --

C (94) Not necessarily.

D (95) Not necessarily.

J (96) Not if they're workinthe same shift.

N (97) Well, who's gonna be there with the kids? (comments)

T (98) I don't think I'd want my wife workin when I have kids.

(comments)

D (99) Um, I think that, uh,

(100) it's uh a lot more of a hassle if you'll if you have kids right off the bat.

(101) Cause then --

N. (102) Well, yeah.

D (103) cause then, cause then, you know

(104) if y, uh, if it doesn't work out, here y-

(105) here you have this kid,

(106) and he's caught right in the middle of it.

N (107) Yeah.

(108) I don't have any intention of having any kids until at least three years after I get married.

(109) The very least.

(110) Cause I want to make sure that that thing's gonna last.

(111) Cause there's no way in all hell that I'm gonna git a divorce;

(112) I went through that myself.

(113) The divorce itself wasn't so ugly,

(114) but the whole idea of it was ugly.

J (115) Yeah, splittin the kids up was

D (116) A hassle!

J (117) a problem with my parents, you know...

N (118) The kids didn't get screwed up at our house,
(119) but there was a lot of emotional things runnin around;
(120) like Mom runnin around, say
(121) Don't go away with your Dad,
(122) you love me an I love you an all that shit sorta stuff,

(comments)

R (123) Sorry, honey, but I really need to get away.
C (124) What wouldja do?
J (125) Probly get pissed.
N (126) Why?
D (127) Wonder why.
R (128) He'd wonder why. (comments)
N (129) Well, why couldn't she,
(130) instead of just getting up that morning, leaving the note,
(131) why couldn't she just say,
(132) you know, talk to him,
(133) you know, say, well, (comments)
(134) Yeah, yeah, cause like,
(135) I think that's a kinda stupid way to do it.
(136) I think you should like, (comments)
N (137) Yeah, you'd have to work it out.
(138) If he didn't dig it, you know, (noise)
(139) you might, jus, you know, talk about it,
(140) maybe not go that far away an jus, (comments)
J (141) Just leavin for a couple months or sumpin (comments)
(142) talk to 'im,

J (143) say you're leavin for, you know,

(144) you're goin on a trip to such-an-such, you know,

(145) an see how he takes it.

(146) If he takes it really bad an starts givin you all this
(noise) well, sorry. (comments)

R (147) ... in a situation where you were married,

(148) and you had an opportunity, um,

(149) to go, um, in with a couple of the guys on a fishing boat or
sumpin like that,

(150) an you wanted to go, go fishing,

(151) an take a couple months,

(152) or summer, or something, um

(153) how would, how would you feel if,

(154) um, your wife said no you can't go,

(155) you know, don't leave me.

(156) Would you like to have the privilege of, of being able to
take off;

(157) or like, you know, take off for a month an go study somewhere
for some seminar or something;

(158) would you (noise) would you like that kind of a privilege,

(159) or freedom?

J (160) Oh, yeah.

(161) I think, you know, like if I could go an make some money
someplace an make allot of money,

(162) like you can on a fishing boat,

(163) that'd be very, you know,

(164) like, if we could,

J (165) if we were in, you know, in financially, uh, trouble or anything, I wouldn't be going an spending all this money on a fishing boat just, just to be doing sumpin,

(166) just to spend, you know,

(167) three months away from my wife,

(168) but if I made a lot of money, then,

R (169) What if you just wanted to get away for awhile,

(170) you know, an take like a month,

(171) an, an go, uh (noise) some, some seminar,

(172) go on some kind of a lark,

(173) of sorts,

(174) you know, just cause you wanted to get away an you wanted to get,

(175) or wanted to go on that, uh, month-long fishing trip to see Canada with a bunch of your friends or something like that.

(176) You, you'd like to have that freedom,

(177) wouldn't you?

J (178) Yeah.

R (179) Kay.

(180) Would, do you think that you'd allow her the same kind of freedom to take off?

(181) You know, do something else,

(182) like maybe she'd wanta ...

J (183) Well, she could take off the same month I took off. (laughter)

R (184) Well, what if sh, what if,

(185) what if it was a different time,

R (186) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{know}}$?

(187) $\overset{2}{\text{An}}$ she, $\overset{3}{\text{she}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{had}}$ this $\overset{3\;2}{\text{opportunity}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{say}}$,

(188) $\overset{2}{\text{to}}$ go to $\overset{3\;2}{\text{California}}$ an participate in some uh $\overset{3\;2}{\text{conference}}$ or $\overset{2}{\text{sumpin}}$,

(189) $\overset{2}{\text{she}}$ was gonna be gone for three weeks or a $\overset{32}{\text{month}}$;

(190) $\overset{3}{\text{how}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{would}}$ you respond to $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$?

N (191) $\overset{2}{\text{Take}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{care}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{of}}$ yourself, $\overset{2\;3}{\text{honey}}$;

(192) $\overset{2}{\text{have}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{fun}}$;

(193) $\overset{2}{\text{good}}$-$\overset{32}{\text{bye}}$. (comments)

J (194) ...$\overset{2}{\text{well}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{mean}}$, if $\overset{3}{\text{it}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{was}}$ just a $\overset{32}{\text{whim}}$,

(195) $\overset{2}{\text{like}}$ she wanted to go to, uh, $\overset{2}{\text{uh}}$,

(196) $\overset{3\;2}{\text{England}}$ to buy a $\overset{32}{\text{dress}}$,

(197) $\overset{2}{\text{or}}$ some'n like $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$ (laughter)

(198) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ mean if you're $\overset{3}{\text{rich}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{enough}}$,

(199) $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{some}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{people}}$ can $\overset{3}{\text{do}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{that}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$.

(200) $\overset{3}{\text{That's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{kind}}$ of $\overset{3\;2}{\text{stupid}}$,

(201) $\overset{2}{\text{but}}$ if it's for $\overset{3}{\text{some}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{good}}$ $\overset{3\;2}{\text{reason}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{then}}$.

(202) $\overset{2}{\text{somethin}}$ she $\overset{2}{\text{really}}$,

N (203) $\overset{2\;3}{\text{Depends}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{on}}$ the $\overset{3\;2}{\text{reasons}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{behind}}$ it, you $\overset{3}{\text{know}}$,

(204) $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{let's}}$ say she's just feelin really $\overset{2}{\text{hassled}}$ an really $\overset{3}{\text{down}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{right}}$ then, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$,

(205) $\overset{2}{\text{she}}$ just wants to get away from all those $\overset{3\;2}{\text{people}}$ she's kno- she knows with their $\overset{3\;2}{\text{hangups}}$ an stuff, you $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$,

(206) $\overset{3}{\text{their}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{hangups}}$ that $\overset{3}{\text{they}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{shoved}}$ onto $\overset{3}{\text{her}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{stuff}}$,

(207) $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ she just wants to git $\overset{3}{\text{away}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{for}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{awhile}}$,

(208) $\overset{2}{\text{then}}$ what wouldja say to $\overset{31}{\text{that}}$?

J (209) $\overset{2}{\text{Oh}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{that's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{kinda}}$ hard to think $\overset{31}{\text{out}}$. (laughs)

J (210) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ don't $\overset{31}{\text{know}}$. (comment)

N (211) $\overset{4}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ $\overset{4}{\text{give}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{a}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{damn}}$. (comments)

(212) $\overset{2}{\text{Well}}$, if, if there're $\overset{3}{\text{kids}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{in}}$ the house, they would $\overset{3}{\text{pro}}\overset{2}{\text{bly}}$
think it was worse if the $\overset{3}{\text{wife}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{left}}$.

(213) $\overset{2}{\text{Cause}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{most}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{people}}$ (comments)

(214) $\overset{3}{\text{On}}$ the $\overset{2}{\text{average}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{people}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{have}}$ got the idea that the $\overset{3}{\text{lady}}\overset{2}{\text{'s}}$
supposed to stay $\overset{3}{\text{home}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ take $\overset{3}{\text{care}}$ of the $\overset{2}{\text{kids}}$, $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$

(215) $\overset{3}{\text{cook}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ all that $\overset{2}{\text{shit}}$;

(216) $\overset{2}{\text{there's}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{some}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{people}}$ that, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$,

(217) $\overset{2}{\text{don't}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{think}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{that}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{way}}$,

(218) $\overset{2}{\text{but}}$ there's the $\overset{3}{\text{ma}}\overset{2}{\text{jority}}$ of people that $\overset{31}{\text{do}}$. (comments)

(219) $\overset{2}{\text{well}}$, $\overset{42}{\text{hell}}$, it's half $\overset{42}{\text{his}}$. (comments)

(220) $\overset{3}{\text{What}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{about}}$ the $\overset{3}{\text{la}}\overset{2}{\text{dies}}$ that go an have their $\overset{3}{\text{kids}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ they $\overset{3}{\text{die}}$
$\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ their $\overset{3}{\text{hus}}\overset{2}{\text{band}}$, or the kids' $\overset{3}{\text{fa}}\overset{2}{\text{ther}}$ ... (comments)

(221) $\overset{3}{\text{O}}\overset{2}{\text{kay}}$, so it $\overset{4}{\text{can}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{be}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{Daddy}}$, $\overset{3}{\text{Dad}}\overset{2}{\text{dy}}$ ... (comment)

C (222) $\overset{3}{\text{It's}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{cause}}$ that's the way you've been $\overset{3}{\text{raised}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{taught}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{all}}$
your $\overset{1}{\text{life}}$.

N (223) $\overset{42}{\text{Yeah}}$, if, if when a $\overset{3}{\text{kid}}$ comes home from the $\overset{3}{\text{hospital}}$,

(224) $\overset{2}{\text{his}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{father}}$ sits around $\overset{3}{\text{an}}$,

(225) $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ know, bottle $\overset{3}{\text{feeds}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{it}}$,

(226) $\overset{3}{\text{an}}$ all this other $\overset{3}{\text{stuff}}$ ... (comments)

N (227) $\overset{2}{\text{Did}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ know that there's $\overset{2}{\text{ha}}$, um, $\overset{2}{\text{ho}}\overset{3}{\text{mes}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{for}}$ runaway $\overset{2}{\text{mo}}\overset{3}{\text{thers}}$?

D (228) $\overset{2}{\text{Mm}}\overset{3}{\text{hm}}$.

T (229) $\overset{2}{\text{There}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{is}}$?

N (230) $\overset{2}{\text{There}}$ $\overset{41}{\text{is}}$.

(231) $\overset{2}{\text{If}}$ a $\overset{3}{\text{mother}}$ runs $\overset{3}{\text{away}}$,

N (232) there's places she can go an just be with other women that have run away from their kids. (inaudible)

J (233) Yeah, there's a place in Seattle. (comments)

(234) Yeah, there's a place in Seattle for runaway mothers. (comments)

C (235) Fourth floor of the YWCA.

N (236) Huh-uh.

(237) Fourth floor is Nova,

(238) third floor is for, unwed mothers.

J (239) Yeah.

(240) Um, they did have an arti-, um, several days' articles,

(241) um, I guess it was in the PI about 'em,

(242) an also the Times.

(243) An, there was this guy,

(244) he talked to some of these, uh, women up there,

(245) just found out how the program worked and like that,

(246) and uh, seems like it was a very good program.

N (247) Yeah, like, when my, my, Louise saw it she said

(248) well I'll have to keep that in mind.

(249) So if she wants to git away,

(250) you know, she can split 'n ... (comment)

N (251) Yeah, that's true,

(252) but what if, you know, you just weren't ready for havin 'em? (comments)

N (253) Okay, there isn't any real solid excuse,

(254) but there's still the fact that lotsa ladies have kids when they're not really ready for 'em. (comments)

(255) Well, what about the young, young girls that, like have

b^{2}abies and the fa^{3}mi^{2}lies will sup^{3}port the^{2}m,

N (256) a^{2}nd say that they can li^{3}ve wi^{1}th the^{1}m,

(257) bu^{2}t the^{3}y ha^{2}ve got to, yo^{3}u kno^{2}w,

(258) the^{2}y'll back 'em u^{31}p,

(259) bu^{2}t the^{3}y've go^{2}t to, like, ta^{3}ke ca^{2}re of the baby comple^{3}tel^{2}y,

(260) ca^{2}use li^{2}ke (comments)

J (261) Yo^{2}u do^{3}n't wa^{2}nt your mo^{3}the^{2}r sittin around and te^{3}lli^{2}n you what
to do^{3} a^{2}ll the ti^{2}me.

(262) Ye^{2}ah, they're fi^{3}ne fo^{2}r a couple ho^{3}urs the^{2}re.

R (263) Ho^{2}w would yo^{3}u fe^{1}el about changin diape^{1}rs?

J (264) Ho^{2}w would I fe^{3}el?

(265) I^{2}'ve already do^{3}ne i^{1}t.

R (266) Do^{2} you think you should cha^{3}nge ha^{2}lf the diape^{3}rs?

(267) I^{2}f yo^{3}u ha^{2}d a kid an you were marri^{3}ed?

J (268) Ha^{3}lf the diape^{3}rs?

R (269) Ye^{31}ah. (comments)

(270) Do^{3} you think you sho^{3}uld? (comments)

J (271) O^{31}h, we^{2}ll, yea^{32}h, it's no^{3}t si^{2}ttin the^{2}re ...

(272) I^{2} mean, I'^{3}ll do^{2} the same thing I will at my da^{3}d's ho^{1}use.

(273) He^{2}, he^{3} ju^{2}st adopted two little ki^{31}ds,

(274) we^{2}ll, he di^{3}dn'^{2}t just ado^{3}pt 'e^{2}m,

(275) bu^{2}t, one^{3} of^{2} 'em thre^{2}e, one's fo^{31}ur, yo^{3}u kno^{2}w,

(276) bu^{2}t when the^{3}y u^{2}seta have diape^{3}rs, yo^{2}u kno^{2}w,

(277) I^{3} u^{2}sed, I^{3} se^{2}ta sit there an tell my stepmo^{3}the^{2}r that, yo^{3}u kno^{2}w,

(278) o^{2}ne of 'em's we^{3}t,

(279) o^{2}r one of 'em's got shitty pa^{3}nts, o^{2}r wha^{3}te^{1}ver.

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         3   2
J (280) You know.
         3     1                    32
  (281) She'd sit there an bitch me out,
         2             3  2               3     1    3   2
  (282) why, why don't I take 'em in an change 'em, you know,

                   (comments)

        3  2                3  1             1
J (283) I don't think it's no fifty percent deal;
        3  1        3  2                           3   2      3  1
  (284) I think the mother should take care of the goddamned babies.

                (laughter, comments)

         3   1                 2
R (285) You think you're gonna fi-
        2       3     2                       3    2                3
  (286) do you think you're gonna find a, a girl that, that's willing
         1         3    2   32                    31
J (287) Well, when I'm not home what is she gonna do?
         3                    3
  (288) Wait till I get home to-     (comments)
         3      2     41
  (289) Well, that's fine,
        2      4    1
  (290) I'll change it,
         2   3                          2       31
  (291) but that's not no fifty percent of the time.  (comments)
         2       3   2                2
R (292) what if she was workin part time,
        2   3   2                 2
  (293) an you were workin part time,
         2                     3  3  1
  (294) 'n you were sharin fifty-fifty,
         2            2
  (295) you had, you had,
         2   3    2            31    3    2
  (296) you each had part time jobs, you know,
         2             3         2
  (297) like you were both teachers ...
         2         3     2                   32
J (298) Well, if that's the way we worked it out,
         2                                   31
  (299) then that's the way it'd hafta work out.  (comments)
         2        3     2         32           31
  (300) Well, if she's willing to work that's fine;
        2       3    2  3  2                              3  2
  (301) I mean, all the money that we can get into the household's
              3    2   32
        just fine with me.
        3 2              3  2
R (302) Okay, b, but if she ge,
         2         3    2                   3   2
R (303)  like, if she's workin eight hours, you were workin eight
         2
         hours,
         2     3   2                3    2      2
  (304)  would you be willing to do half the dishes,
         3     2       2
  (305)  half the laundry,
         3     2       2
  (306)  half the cleaning,
         3     2                  2
  (307)  half the baby-taking-care-of,
         2
J (308)  Well,
             2 3   2       32
  (309)  ... exampleof my dad,
        2   3   2                             2
  (310)  an he does half the work around the house. (comments)
         3  3
  (311)  Dishes,
          2   3
  (312)  the clothes,
         2   3          2
  (313)  changes the diapers,
         2              3 2
  (314)  diapers on the baby,
          2       2
  (315)  dresses them,
         3    2
  (316)  you know.    (comments)
         2   3             3
J (317)  You don't like to cook?        (comments)
          2     3       2                 3   2            2
  (318)  That's bad f, that's bad for the guy you're gonna get, (comment)
         3      2      3       2                    3    2
D (319)  You'll probl, you'll probly end up with someone who cannot
                 32
         cook at all,
         2       3     31
  (320)  but who loves food.   (comments)
         3   2                  3   2                     3  2
J (321)  You don't sit there an say when you're gonna git married,
         2          31
  (322)  Now lookit here,
         2               3    2   31
  (323)  you're gonna do half the work.
         2       3  2  3     31
T. (324) You do this an I do that.
        3 2    3  2    3     2           2
R (325)  Okay, let'sa, let's say the wife is,
         3    2        3   2      32         2
  (326)  just had a really hassled day, you know,
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N (327) an' the kids've been whinin all day,
(328) one of 'em's sick maybe,
(329) 'n you know, all this kinda shit,
(330) maybe is hassled by some committee or sumpin,
(331) an you come home,
(332) an she's really tired an you're really tired from workin,
(333) you know, an you come home before, you know (cough)
(334) but she'll cook for ya.
(335) Would you go in the kitchen an cook up the meals an git the kids to bed 'n all that shit?
J (336) Yeah.
(337) If she was sick.
N (338) She's not sick.
(339) She's just hassled. (comments)
J (340) Depends on if she was too tired to do it,
(341) or just too lazy to do it, you know.
N (342) Well, what if she feels like bein lazy for a day?
C (343) Yeah, what if she is lazy?
J (344) Let her be lazy,
(345) I (noise) I'd be lazy the next day. (laughter, comments)
D (346) Why marry a ninety-nine year old?
(347) Marry him ninety,
(348) Marry him when he's ninety eight. (comments)
(349) You'll be with him for two years,
(350) an, an then he'll go out ... (inaudible comments)
D (351) Yeah, well, some,

D. (352) yeah, that's happened before too. (comments)

N (353) I read an article once where this dude got married to this really young broad,

(354) an on their honeymoon,

(355) in the middle of the whole biggy thing, you know,

(356) he keels over an died on her. (laughter)

J (357) What if they just automatically annul the marriage? (comments)

(358) They don't have any life insurance,

(359) cause they, you don't usually get life insurance before you get ... (comments)

(360) Well,

(361) if they're old, you know, like

(362) the mother can have a couple of kids,

(363) the father could have a couple kids,

(364) before you know it, you got a family without even tryin.

(laughter, comments)

(365) ... an she had, she had four kids livin at home,

(366) an that's a big responsibility for any housewife.

N (367) 'Mediate family.

J (368) First wife, you know.

(369) His only wife so far.

T (370) First wife, but

(371) it was her third husband.

J (372) No;

(373) fourth. (comments)

K (374) She likes to jump around.

J (375) $\overset{23}{\text{Huh?}}$ (comments)

(376) $\overset{2}{\text{Cause}}$ they $\overset{3}{\text{think}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{they}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{love}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{each}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{other.}}$ (comments)

N (377) $\overset{3}{\text{Shit;}}$

(378) $\overset{2}{\text{when}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{was,}}$

(379) $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{was}}$ really hung $\overset{3}{\text{up}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{on}}$ this $\overset{2}{\text{dude,}}$

(380) $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{we}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{were}}$ talkin bout goin $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{livin}}$ with each other an all $\overset{3}{\text{this}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{shit;}}$

(381) $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{didn't}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{see}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{him}}$ for a $\overset{3}{\text{year}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ then he showed up last $\overset{31}{\text{Hallowe'en;}}$ (laughter)

(382) $\overset{2}{\text{an,}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know,}}$ an $\overset{3}{\text{he}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{was}}$ in $\overset{3}{\text{Seattle}}$ for a couple $\overset{3}{\text{weeks}}$

(383) $\overset{2}{\text{an,}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know,}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{I}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{was}}$ talk, talkin with my $\overset{3}{\text{parents}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{bout}}$ shackin $\overset{3}{\text{up}}$ in his $\overset{3}{\text{place,}}$

(384) $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ all $\overset{3}{\text{this}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{shit,}}$

(385) $\overset{2}{\text{an}}$ they said $\overset{23}{\text{well,}}$

(386) $\overset{2}{\text{like}}$ if $\overset{3}{\text{inthree}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{or}}$ four $\overset{32}{\text{months,}}$ you $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$

(387) $\overset{2}{\text{I}}$ got this $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{feelin}}$ again I want to go shack $\overset{3}{\text{up}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{with}}$ him, you $\overset{2}{\text{know,}}$

(388) $\overset{2}{\text{if,}}$ an, $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know,}}$ if you $\overset{32}{\text{do,}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{32}{\text{can,}}$

(389) $\overset{2}{\text{but}}$ if it $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{doesn't}}$ work $\overset{32}{\text{out,}}$ you can always comeback $\overset{31}{\text{home,}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know,}}$

(390) $\overset{2}{\text{just}}$ make a $\overset{3}{\text{point}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{try}}$ not to have any $\overset{31}{\text{kids.}}$ (noise)

(391) ... $\overset{2}{\text{ready}}$ to $\overset{3\ 1}{\text{handle}}$ $\overset{1}{\text{it.}}$

(392) $\overset{2}{\text{Well,}}$ as it $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{happens,}}$ we $\overset{3\ 2}{\text{eventually}}$ broke up $\overset{3\ 1\ 1}{\text{anyway.}}$

(393) $\overset{2}{\text{But}}$ $\overset{3}{\text{you}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{know}}$ ... (comments)

(394) $\overset{2}{\text{No,}}$ cause, $\overset{2}{\text{no,}}$

N (395) when^{2} he^{3} showed^{2} up we were, we were still^{3} pretty^{2} hung up^{3} on^{2}
each other for awhile^{3} there^{2}.

(396) You^{2} know, but, you^{3} know^{2},

(397) my^{4} dad^{2} didn't even like^{3} the^{1} guy^{1}. (comments)

J (398) Parents$^{3\,2}$ are the most critical^{3} things I've^{2} ever seen^{31}.

N (399) My^{3} dad has^{2} liked some^{3} of^{2} the guys I've hung around^{3} with^{2},

(400) but^{2} this one^{3} dude^{2} he^{3} didn't^{2} like^{3} him^{2} cause he^{3} was^{2} a big^{3} leech^{31}.

(401) He^{3} just^{2} sucked^{3} off of^{2} everybody$^{3\,1\,1}$.

(402) He^{2} didn't get a job^{3} or^{2} nothin$^{3\,1}$,

(403) he^{2} went^{3} an^{2} lived^{3} dow^{3},

(404) he^{2} went^{3} an^{2} lived^{3} with^{2} my mom^{31}. (laughter, comments)

(405) Ate^{2} 'er^{3} food^{32},

(406) an^{2} sucked up my little brothers' rooms^{3},

(407) an^{2} all this shit^{3}, you know^{3}.

(408) You^{3} know^{2}, he'd ask her^{3} if^{2} he could have some money for a
pack of cigarettes$^{3\,2\,2}$,

(409) she'd^{2} give^{3} it^{2} to him^{2},

(410) And^{2} then would you^{3} buy^{2} us some^{3} beer^{2}?

(411) Sure^{2} ... (comments)

N (412) Sometimes$^{3\,1}$ people get married$^{3\,2}$ because there's a security$^{3\,2}$ in it^{2},

(413) you^{2} know^{3}? (comments)

N (414) No^{2}, well, some^{3} people^{2} think that getting married is a way of
saying^{2},

(415) well^{2}, you have^{3} to^{2} live with me^{2}. (comments)

D (416) I'd^{2} rather$^{3\,2}$ live^{3} with^{2} a chick for a while first^{32},

(417) before^{2}, you^{3} know^{2}, if I do^{3} get^{1} married to her^{1}. (comments)

N (418) Hell^{4} if^{1} you can't^{1}! (comment)

J (419) What^{2}, about marriage^{33}? (comment)

(420) I^{3}, I^{3} just^{2} think it's a slip^{3} of^{2} paper^{31}.

(421) That's^{2} all it is^{32}.

(422) all^{2} you do^{3} is^{2}, all you do^{3} is^{2} get up there, you know^{2}, (comment)

(423) an^{2} you^{3} can^{2} believe it or not^{32},

(424) I^{2} mean, it's not^{3} really^{2} ma^{2},

(425) it's^{2} not^{3} gonna^{2} make that much difference^{32} of how you live^{32}.

(426) It^{2} might^{3} if^{2} you were real^{2},

(427) if^{2} you were a real moral person^{32},

(428) but^{2} if you^{3} were^{2}, I mean^{2},

(429) if^{2} you^{3} don't^{2} care^{3} what^{2} society thinks^{3} about^{2} you^{2},

(430) an^{2} you^{3} don't^{2} care, you^{3} know^{2},

(431) if^{2} people^{3} say^{2},

(432) oh^{32}, they're^{3} not^{2} married^{2},

(433) they're^{3} just^{2} livin^{32} together^{2}, you^{3} know^{2},

(434) an^{2} a lotta^{32} people will call ya weird^{3} an different^{2} names^{32},

(435) but^{2} if you^{3} don't^{2} care^{32}, then^{2}

(436) it^{2} ain't gonna make that much difference^{31}.

(437) If^{2} you have a slip of paper^{32} to say you're married^{32} or not^{31}.

(laughter, comments)

C (438) When^{2} I^{3} get^{2} married, like, I think^{3} I^{2},

(439) it'd^{2} be neat^{3} to^{2} make up our own^{3} marriage^{1} contracts^{1},

(440) instead^{23} of^{2} like the traditional^{32}, old, you^{3} know^{2},

T. (441) Society^{23} rules^{31}. (comments)

D (442) I'm^{3} gonna^{2},

(443) when^{2} I get married^{32}, I'm gonna^{2},

D (444) you know, instead of a marriage license, I'm gonna use, uh,

(445) something that is more,

(446) uh, you know, not just a slip of paper,

(447) saying that we are officially married;

(448) I'm gonna use something that is more lasting,

(449) that doesn't uh, that's not,

(450) it's not easily destroyed.

(451) Ya know, you can destroy it but it's not so easy,

(452) an I'm not ... (comment)

(453) No!

(454) No, I'm not. (comment)

(455) No, I'm not.

(456) Fact, I'm not, I'm not even gonna be married by any judge, or

(457) priest,

(458) or anything like this;

(459) I'd ratherhave a, have it done by a good friend,

(460) by, uh, both of us. (comments)

(461) Yes!

(462) Something that, (comments)

(463) I know it!

(464) But I'm just saying that I would rather have something more,
you know, more symbolic,

(465) more symbolic than just a, just a piece of paper that we ...

(comments)

P (466) Polyethylene lasts forever.

D (467) I don't want something that lasts forever.

(468) Who kno, if

(469) who knows,

(470) After maybe about twenty years, I'm just gonna say (comments)

(471) After maybe twenty years,

(472) we're sittin there,

(473) just sittin there,

(474) lookin at each other,

(475) I'd say okay,

(476) let's bag it for awhile.

P (477) Yeah?

N (478) When you're forty?

P. (479) You'd still have the polyethylene wedding contract.

D (480) I don't want a polyethylene wedding contract. (laughter)

(481) How about a tombstone? (laughter)(comments)

N (482) Dick and Janie

(483) joined here forever.

D (484) Right.

(485) Joined here for twenty years,

(486) and then we'll renew it. (comments)

J (487) ... they could be considered bastards. (comments)

J (488) Well, I know,

(489) but it does impress some kids.

(490) You know, like, let's say, you know,

(491) a kid that gets in school and then ... (comments)

(492) Your parents are married!

(493) What a weirdo! (comments)

N (494) Well, when my parents got married it was, uh,

(495) like, Dad and Louise, my step-mom, sorta,

(496) when they got married,

(497) it wasn't just a joining of the two of them;

(498) all six of us kids stood there,

(499) right next to them,

(500) with the priest, you know,

(501) an they were just readin poems

(502) 'n shit like that,

(503) an so then when it was over,

(504) we all just hugged each other an all this shit,

(505) an, it was a really a neat wedding,

(506) cause there was like no thing saying, like,

(507) if he's sick, ya know,

(508) I'll stand by 'im all the time, you know,

(509) but if Dad is sick Louise stands by him just cause she loves him
an she wants him to git better;

(510) an, an shit like that.

(511) And so, it was no big thing saying,

(512) now I have to stay by him,

(513) an I have to do all this other shit that they've got in
the marriage dealies, ya know... (comment)

(514) Well, I'm not sure;

(515) maybe, I think a lot was just dad's legal profession,

(516) an, it would be shot to hell if he wasn't married to her.

(517) They lived, they lived together for almost a year before
they got married, you know;

N (518) but^{2} then^{3} they^{2} decided$^{3\,2}$,

(519) well^{2}, you know^{3}, they^{2} kinda$^{3\,2}$ knew^{3} when^{2} they^{2},

(520) when^{2} he went^{3} and^{2} lived^{3} with^{2} her they kinda$^{3\,2}$ knew^{3} eventually$^{2\,3\,2}$
they were gonna probly$^{3\,2}$ git married$^{3\,1}$,

(521) eventually$^{2\,3\,2}$.

(522) And^{2}, also$^{3\,2}$, you^{3} know^{2}, for them^{3} to^{2} have custody$^{3\,2}$ of us kids$^{3\,2}$,

(523) they^{3} needed^{2} to be legally married by, by courts$^{3\,1}$, also$^{3\,1}$.

(524) And^{2} they wanted us kids^{3} to^{2} be able to live^{3} with^{2} them if we
decided that we wanted$^{3\,1}$ to^{1}.

(525) An^{2}, turns^{3} out^{2} we did$^{3\,1}$, you^{2} know^{2},

(526) but^{2} the courts^{3} wouldn't^{2} have let us^{3} live with^{2} them I don't
think if my Mom^{3},

(527) you^{3} know^{2}, was still single^{3} and^{2} unmarried$^{3\,1}$, you^{3} know^{2} ...

(comments)

(528) Yeah$^{3\,2}$, it's^{2} mostly$^{3\,2}$ that they wanted us kids^{3} to^{2} live^{3} with^{2}
them, you^{3} know^{2} ... (comments)

R (529) What^{2} should^{3} marriage^{2} be$^{3\,1}$? (comments)

N (530) You^{2} know, because like, you^{3} know^{2},

(531) another$^{2\,3\,2}$ reason they did it^{3} was^{2} like if anything^{3} really^{2} happened$^{3\,2}$
to either one^{3} of^{2} 'em^{2},

(532) there^{2}, there, you^{3} know^{2}, like^{2},

(533) my^{2} dad's^{3} in^{2} the top five^{3} in^{2} the United States^{2},

(534) an^{2} Louise's^{3} in^{2} the top seven$^{3\,2}$ in the United States in income$^{3\,1}$
bracket^{1},

(535) an^{2} like an if either^{3} one of 'em died$^{3\,2}$ they'd both^{3} be^{2} able to
take care^{3} of^{2} us financially$^{3\,2}$ but^{2},

N (536) let's say if my dad died and Louise and dad weren't married,

(537) then Louise wouldn't be able to support us,

(538) cause the courts would take us away from her and give us back to our Mom,

(539) which we really don't want.

(540) And th, so, you know, it's jus,

(541) there's a lot of legal shit, you know,

(542) really, mosly, (comments)

N (543) Yeah, you can be two individuals but the court would recognize you as a whole unit.

(544) It, maybe there would be some other stuff in it, (comments)

P (545) A moment ago you asked what's the difference between marriage

(546) and living together,

(547) and, I do,

(548) to me, it seems that, uh, living together would be a more real relationship,

(549) since people aren't tied to each other.

(550) They have to work a lot harder,

(551) to reach the other person. (comments)

(552) A, a large amount of understanding between each other,

(553) you know, so they'll stay together.

(554) Seems like they would be more interested in,

N (555) Pleasing the other person.

P (556) in living, you know,

(557) from day to day,

(558) in setting up a, a real situation that they could be comfortable in,

P (559) instead of, uh,

R (560) Depending on a legal contract.

P (561) No;

(562) instead of being in the role ma, uh, role husband and the role wife,

(563) and, uh, playing the game of husband and the game of wife.

(564) What's wrong with wha'?

(565) The roles, that have ...

(566) If a crisis comes along later, you know,

(567) they're destroyed,

(568) an a person's, would be really hard to get back into the role, you know,

(569) because it's it's like something forced,

(570) or, el, it's like having someone else do a thing for you,

(comment)

(571) Yeah.

(572) It's done for you;

(573) and yet, because it is done for the person,

(574) if it's taken away somehow,

(575) the person's just lost in a void, you know,

(576) like there, there's nothing (comment)

(577) to,uh, fall back on and get back into it;

(578) but, nothing but time, you know,

(579) to learn all over again on a person's own individual effort,

(580) how to, uh, become that kind of person that they were before the crisis,

P (581) whatever the crisis was.

R (582) You're talking about marriage in the, in the stereotype sense,

(583) because I think that marriage can happen in just the way living together can happen. (comment)

(584) No I'm not.

(585) Um, I think that, well, like, our relationship is like,

(586) more like Paul described living together,

(587) in that, you know, it's a thing that we work out from day to day and try to make a life out of it,

(588) and then, we're trying to, you know, like,

(589) be individuals and work out our own roles,

(590) and break away from, you know, the, the stereotypes about marriage,

(591) and stereotypes of, and expectations of what a wife should be,

(592) what a husband should be,

(593) and stuff like that.

(594) Really trying to work out our lives individually.

(595) Reason I got married, um,

(596) was partly for security,

(597) um, partly because, um, I was really to the point where I really wanted to share my life,

(598) an build my life with s, somebody,

(599) in a way that was really intimate and close,

(600) um, that I don'tthink takes place very easily unless there is a commitment,

(601) two people, you know,

R (602) to each other, um, you know,

(603) not a legal commitment,

(604) but, uh, a commitment, you know,

(605) a personal commitment to one another.

(606) Uh, I think that, you know,

(607) there are certain ways in which I've grown and certain things that I've, uh, been able to begin to work on,

(608) and, and been able to become;

(609) because of the relationship,

(610) because of, you know, the male-female interaction, partly;

(611) partly because, um, you know,

(612) I trust that, uh, Joe isn't gonna split when things git tough,

(613) that he, you know, wants to stay with me an work things out together,

(614) and he trusts that I'm not gonna split when things git tough even if they are hard.

(615) We still care enough about each other,

(616) and believe en, enough in the initial commitment that we made,

(617) and that we make from day to day.

(618) Um, to say that, um,

(619) it's worth, it's worth sticking together when it's hard,

(620) and that it's worth s, worth, um, you know,

(621) building something, that, that can't be built,

(622) um, you know, in a year,

(623) or two years,

(624) three years,

```
         3     1     1
R (625) five years even.
          2       3   2       3  2    2
P (626) When you put all that effort, uh,
        3  2                          3  2          2
  (627) into a thing from the very beginning, you know,
          2   3 2   2
  (628) keep doing it,
          2      3     2 3 1 1
  (629) there's more stability.
          2         3  2              3    1   1
  (630) Like, it's easier to have it done for you,
          2        3  2     32
  (631) like, to, taking school (cough)
            2      3    2     3
  (632) straight life, for example.
          3   2                   3  2
  (633) You know, start out from kindergarten doing the same thing
                             32
        day over, day after day,
          2    3   2  3  1
  (634) same hours exactly,
          2   3
  (635) you know,
          2  3    2
  (636) you git, it's,
        2  3          2        3 2                    3      2
  (637) after a few years your body's been, has been whipped into
                          31
        that type of a thing.
         2             3    2   3  2                         32
  (638) But, if, uh, something happens, you know, like, you leave,
          2       3  2   3    2          31        2   2
  (639) takes a couple years to git back into it, you know,
         2  3  2                             3 2              32
  (640) yet I feel that, that just, uh, from doing it on your own,
          2           3
  (641) from building up.
         2   3   2   32
  (642) back up yourself,
         2           3 2                3  2
  (643) you, you're probably a stronger person than anyone that's
                     3    1
        had it done for them.
          2            31
R (644) Yeah, that's true.
          2       3   2           3  2              3 2
  (645) Fact, if Joe left, I, I know I could go on living,
        2         3  2      2
  (646) I could handle my life,
         2 3   2                            2
  (647) an I could find happiness and all that.
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R (648) ... completely fall apart and my ego wouldn't be destroyed and all that.

(649) And I think he's the same way because (cough) we, we're individuals.

(650) I, you know, it would be really heavy if he did split, you know;

(651) it would cause a lot of traumas,

(652) but I, you know, I could handle it.

(653) You know, and I could keep on going,

(654) and, and, continue.

(655) And I think some marriages are such that,

(656) like you were talking about,

(657) they end up with a void because as individuals they haven't,

(658) uh, especially women, (comment)

(659) you know, they haven't, yeah,

(660) they don't grow,

(661) and they haven't achieved a stable identity of their own.

(662) Men have less of that, I think, than women,

(663) but, uh, I mean, women have less than men. (comment)

(664) They accept their role.

(665) They accept the decisions that were made for them. (comments)

N (666) I have a question:

(667) why, why is it married women and single women have to make, um, a definition of what they are when they write Mrs and Miss.

(668) You know, why can't they just write Ms., like (comment)

(669) You can,

N (670) but is it legal yet?

R (671) Yeah. (comments)

N (672) Yeah, but so many people,

(673) you know, ask if you're Mrs. or Miss. (comments)

(674) I wi, I think that that should be a thing that everybody should do,

(675) just put Ms.

R (676) Yeah.

(677) I sorta wish I would've kept my own, my name, you know.

(678) Just on principles. (comments)

(679) Just for the principle of the thing, you know.

(680) I don't really care ... (comments)

J (681) I, it makes you sound like you belong if you use, you know, your husband's name.

(682) as far as that goes.

(683) If you're a woman, you, know,

(684) you oughta stick with the same name, you know;

(685) if someone saw you an someone saw your husband they wouldn't think anything;

(686) they, you know, they'd think you're, you know,

(687) you, there was nothin goin on there, you know, (comments)

C (688) Would you think it was a crummy deal if, like, after you get married you take your wife's name?

(689) What would you think of that?

(690) I mean, y, just say (comments)

D (691) That'd be strange. (laughs)

C (692) What would it feel like? (comments)

          2   3   2
J (693) I mean, if she wants to keep her own name there's a legal

                                   3 1
way she can do it.   (comments)

        3 2   2   3   2   3 1
(694) Oh, it's time to adjourn. (comments)

        2 3   2   3 2
(695) Eleven thirty-five!

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Elaine E. Tarone was born February 13, 1945, in Modesto, California, the first child of Ernest A. Tarone and Betty (Sutherland) Tarone. She spent her first 18 years on a farm near Modesto, graduating from Thomas Downey High School in 1962. She graduated from the University of California at Berkeley, after four bookish years, with a B.A. in English literature and Spanish, fully intending to continue study at Stanford in English literature. However, during the summer of 1966, she worked in a street academy for high school dropouts in Harlem, New York City, an experience which initiated her present interest in minority culture and language. During the following year, she studied secondary education and obtained a teaching credential. She taught high school a year in Alameda, California, and in 1968 she resumed her graduate study in order to study nonstandard dialects of English. She spent a year at Edinburgh University in Scotland, earning a Diploma in Applied Linguistics. In September, 1969, she transferred to the University of Washington in Seattle, where she obtained an M.A. in Speech Science in 1970, and concurrently began to do volunteer work at the community center in the Black community of Seattle where this study was conducted. Upon completion of the Ph.D. degree in October, 1972, she will continue her education, outside the university.